The Nation.

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The Week.

The debate over civil-service reform in the House is proving most fortunate for the believers in the merit system. The spoilsmen are more open and unblushing in their attitude than ever before, and they are thus making the cause which they champion more offensive than it has previously appeared. Gen. Grosvenor of Ohio on Thursday confessed that he and his kind sympathize with Tammany in this city because the two sets of politicians hold the same views about patronage. "Hundreds of thousands of Republicans," he said, "felt a secret sympathy with Mayor Van Wyck, who announced that none but Democrats would be appointed to office under the new city government." Gov. Black said in his message that when what Gen. Grosvenor called "the late unlamented Republican government of New York" came into power, there were 15,000 Tammany men in office, and when it expired there were still 15,000 Tammany men on the pay-rolls; and Gen. Grosvenor declared that "the Republicans had been justly punished for keeping these enemies in their camp." The friends of the merit system have made very effective replies to the assaults of the spoilsmen upon it, but these replies were hardly necessary. Such diatribes as Gen. Grosvenor's answer themselves, and make votes for the reform.

The attacks on the federal civil-service law which were daily made during the debate in the House, suggest the desirability of an "eligible list" from which the people could select a candidate for Congress. It is safe to say that, under the present system, constituencies know almost nothing of the views of the men they vote for as regards public questions at large. There is usually some one subject on which a candidate must be "sound"; that condition being met, all others are disregarded. The necessity for some protection of this kind against charlatanism received a striking illustration in Monday's debate in the House, when a New England constituency, undoubtedly composed largely of reputable and churchgoing people, was put to shame by the speech of its Representative. The speaker was "Cy" Sulloway of New Hampshire, a country lawyer "with chin whiskers." After attacking the supporters of the civil-service law as "the eunuchs of politics," he went on to say:

"Why, if St. Peter was on earth to-day as an official of the United States Government and wanted to hire gate-keepers for some of the golden streets, he would have to apply to this commission to get a list of eligibles, and, when the list was submitted, if it was like the average list, the good St. Peter would be impelled to say: 'My God, I have not seen such a gang since the day I was crucified!' "

We should not care to insult any New England constituency with the assumption that it would allow a man to remain on its "eligible list" of congressional candidates after reading such a speech by him.

We fear that Secretary Gage has inadvertently given aid and comfort to the spoilsmen by some of his remarks about the need of exempting from the classified service various positions in the Treasury Department included in President Cleveland's order of May 6, 1896. As to the advisability of exemption we say nothing. We will concede, if any one insists, that it may be an open question whether the order was not too sweeping. But Mr. Gage's argument for exempting deputy collectors of internal revenue seems to us not to have its eye on the fact. He says that a collector, responsible as he is legally and financially for his deputies, ought not to be compelled to select them from "an eligible list, the names on which he may know nothing about," but should be allowed to choose "men concerning whose personal characteristics and integrity" he has knowledge. But supposing the eligible list abolished, will the collector be allowed to choose his own deputies? Not at all. Before he gets his office—as a condition of getting it—he has to agree to a "slate" of appointees to every position in his gift. It comes down to an alternative between an eligible list about which he knows nothing, and a "slate" thrust in his hands by the boss who creates him, about which he also knows nothing. The idea that any collector is nowadays left free to look about him and choose his own subordinates is absurd. He appoints the men he is ordered to appoint. Imagine the scornful laughter of a boss who should find his collector wanting to know about the deputies on the "slate." "That's my affair," he would say; "I am responsible for them, not you." The bosses will all endorse Secretary Gage's reasoning, but they will do it, not in order to improve the service as the Secretary intends, but to debauch it as they intend.

In Mr. Bryan's speech at Chicago on Saturday we read his desire that the campaign of 1898 and the greater one of 1900 shall be fought on the silver issue pure and simple. We read also his apprehension lest this issue shall be complicated with the banking question. His attempt to lug in Gen. Jackson and his fight against the Bank of the United States is very significant. Jackson was one of the "gold-bugs" of the period in which he lived. The gold bill was passed by his friends, during his administration, and it bears his signature. Gold had been driven out of circulation by the legal ratio of 15 to 1, and there was a loud demand, especially among the Jackson men, that the ratio should be changed in such a way as to banish silver and supplant it with gold. Benton was the leader of this movement in the Senate, and Benton was also the leader of the Jackson men in that body. He fought for the gold bill and secured its passage. To claim Jackson as a silverite in the face of these facts implies either dense ignorance of history or a remarkable development of "cheek."

Mr. Bryan's use of the phrase "national bank" is equally deceptive. He said in his Chicago speech:

"It is especially fitting that at this time the American people should recall the name of Andrew Jackson and gather inspiration and encouragement from his public career. We are engaged to-day in a contest very similar to that in which he played so conspicuous and honorable a part. During his term of office the national bank attempted to overawe the representatives of the people and control the Government. He grappled with it and overthrew it."

Why did not Mr. Bryan call the bank which Jackson overthrew by its right name, viz., the Bank of the United States? Evidently because the phrase national bank needs only the addition of an *s* to make national banks, thus assimilating the fight which Jackson made to the one which the Populists and some Democrats are carrying on now. The truth is that the whole force of Jackson's animosity against the Bank of the United States was directed against it as one corporation enjoying the deposits of the money of the Government; that is, a monopoly. His veto of the bill rechartering the bank was grounded upon that idea alone. He had no objection to banks generally. He had none to those that were not monopolies. A good deal might be said to show that his fight against the Bank of the United States was a fight against a windmill which he mistook for a giant. In this case, however, he demolished the windmill instead of being unhorsed by it. The material fact is that he removed the deposits from the big bank because it was big, and put them into other banks because they were small, or at all events not open to the charge of being monopolies. Now we have no such case at the present time. There is no monopoly bank. All the banks that we have are of a kind that Jackson would have favored if there had been any in his day. Mr. Bryan's uneasiness on the subject is

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very easily explained. He fears lest the bank question may supersede the silver question as a political issue. Hence his gross perversion of history in dragging Jackson into a controversy so unlike the one in which he took part. Hence his bitter attack on Secretary Gage.

Americans are the proudest as well as the freest people on earth, intensely jealous for their liberties and fiercely resentful of any encroachment upon their rights. We know this because we have heard it said. But, for such a nation, we do delight in submitting without a murmur to every annoyance and interference and maddening espionage and regulation that our rulers take it into their heads to inflict upon us. Was there ever such a bit of small-minded and vexing tyranny of power as our new Treasury regulations about sealskin cloaks? Ladies sailing for Europe have to get a "certificate" that their cloaks are really their own, and that they were made up before pelagic sealing was made illegal; otherwise, their property will be confiscated on their return. Arriving passengers will for some days be in uncertainty and in terror lest their sealskin garments be stripped off them in the custom-house, and they turned out shivering into the streets of the second city in the world. On Sunday in Detroit, family groups strolling on the bridge to the Canadian shore were stopped and warned that if the ladies wanted to bring their sealskin cloaks back they would have to take out the "certificates." The vexation and meddling could not well be more intolerable.

But does anybody complain? Does any indignant husband write to the papers? Does any exasperated woman acquire an unwonted volubility on the subject? Are there protests and appeals addressed to Congress? No, the untamed American takes it meekly. It is just one of those "queer" things about the tariff which we shrug our shoulders at and say nothing. But if such a thing had been attempted in an enslaved country like England, the papers would have been filled with angry communications, the Government would have been deluged with inquiries and threats. A mere dog-muzzling order last summer raised such a row that the Ministry were frightened out of their senses. Such an offensive law as this stealthy enactment of ours about sealskins would be enough to upset an English government. But the haughty American bows his neck and bares his back without a whimper. We must say that there is something significant in these attempts of our rulers to take away our clothes. First they made their law—their "breech-clout legislation," as we called it at the time—to prevent people from bringing clothes from Europe. Now they expect us to act on the Scriptural principle of giving our cloak also to the man who has taken away our coat. But why this zeal to make us go naked? Is it not a symptom that Dingley is really a barbarian at bottom, and that, in his laws, he is but enacting the part of the "civilized" Patagonian, of whom Darwin tells, who threw away his clothes when with his tribe again, and showed himself the howling savage he was?

The developments about the nomination of Charles P. Bryan as Minister to China illustrate perfectly the absurdities of the system by which places in the diplomatic service are apportioned. Mr. Bryan had no fitness for the Chinese mission and no special desire for it; indeed, he picked it out only because it seemed to be the best place that had not already been disposed of, and what he wanted was a good place. When certain Republican Senators, who had learned what a "fresh" young man Bryan was, protested to the President against sending him to so responsible a post, Mr. McKinley set out to see if something "equally as good" could not be provided for the Illinois office-seeker without the risk to American interests involved in sending him to Pekin. A plan was suggested by which Mr. Newell, who is considered a more capable man, might be transferred from the Netherlands to China, Minister Conger from Brazil to the Netherlands, and Mr. Bryan sent to Brazil, where there is nothing to do, and the same salary ($12,000) as in China. But this change fell through because the Minnesota friends of Minister Newell said that he was so comfortably placed at The Hague that he was disinclined to go to China, although his salary is only $7,500; and "thereupon," it is announced, "the President decided to let the Chinese appointment stand." Thus do we show "the heathen Chinee" the superiority of Christian civilization in the art of government and secure the China trade.

The discursiveness of Gov. Black's message is a distinct sign of Plattism. During the city canvass we could not get a Platt man to discuss city affairs. He always wanted to discuss silver, and Hawaii, and the tariff. Nothing is a better mark of good government than the practice on the part of officials of keeping to matters which concern them. Relevancy is the chief mark of efficiency. For instance, the Governor admits that the State, through its "labor bureaus," has done all it can for labor. But he then goes on to talk of things with which he has, as Governor, nothing to do, and what is worse, which he evidently does not understand, making one regret more than ever that he should have said so much about the civil service. Lamenting over disputes between laborers and employers, which are simply disputes about prices, and are no more preventable than disputes about the cost of clothing, he makes the following remark:

> "If present conditions continue, disputes will frequently arise, and I believe it would be wise to encourage the method of university settlement. No man can be a fair judge who does not understand both sides, and while he may acquire this understanding after the trouble has arisen, his capacity to effect a settlement is greatly reduced because of the inflammation which invariably goes with a declared grievance. It is not only harder to settle a dispute when opponents have come face to face, but in the case of labor troubles large sums of money are lost while the dispute goes on. The plan of university settlement is not so much to compose differences as to prevent their occurrence. Its wisdom is obvious."

Now, this makes a little "intolerant criticism" absolutely necessary. There is no such thing as "a method of university settlement," either for composing differences or preventing their recurrence. If the Governor knew what a "university settlement" was, he would not have made this ludicrous observation. He made somewhat the same mistake last year, but as no one in politics called his attention to it, he seems not to have given himself the trouble to make inquiries about the matter. A "university settlement" is so called because, as a rule, provided by university graduates, here and in England. It consists in a house built or hired or furnished by such men and their wives, like Toynbee Hall in London, and in which they reside all or part of the year, for the sole purpose of promoting friendly social intercourse between the different classes of society, by lectures, concerts, conversaziones. No university settlement has ever thought of acting as an arbitrator in labor disputes. If it did, it would soon become worthless. The settlements have no qualifications for such a task. There is no "university settlement" method of doing so. The whole scheme and purpose of these settlements was explained by Canon Barnett of Toynbee Hall in the *Nineteenth Century* for December. The rôle the Governor has assigned them is the product of a lively imagination.

It was clearly a Tammany belief at the opening of the legislative session that a "deal" with Platt at Albany might be arranged, otherwise Tammany statesmen would not have been introducing measures which could be passed only with the aid of Republican votes. They have presented in both houses a bill to give the Mayor power to remove members of the Board of Education, and have been considering the preparation of others to abolish the Court of City Magistrates and possibly the Board of Rapid Transit Commissioners. There could be no hope of passing such measures except through a "deal," and it is

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difficult to see why they should have been presented if there had been no expectation of passing them. At the same time, a "deal" to be effective must include acquiescence by the Governor in the resulting legislation, and even so defiant a scorner of "intolerant clamor" as Gov. Black might well hesitate before openly allying himself with Tammany Hall. Indeed, the announcement is made, apparently by authority, that he will not sign any bills of this sort. The fact is recalled that he blocked some measures of the same nature which were favored by the Platt machine at the last session, and there is certainly every reason why he should maintain such opposition now.

We are glad to see that the Civil-Service Reform Association is determined to keep up the fight for reform more vigorously than ever. The curse of our politics is that the old American tradition which made graceful submission to defeat at the hands of honorable opponents who were only seeking the same ends in a different way, is still preserved in dealing with people who are no more a political party than a party of safe-robbers, and seek nothing from the community but its money. It is almost ludicrous to see self-respecting citizens kissing the hands of these people as their masters, and offering to help them, simply because they have been knocked down and their purses taken. Tammany is to-day making a clean sweep of the city offices. There ought to be a political party to resist the process, as far as the law allows, in the name of good government. There is no such party. Our policemen have joined the burglars, and they are all "having a little something" together. We must, therefore, be grateful to the Civil-Service Reform Association for keeping the flag of decency and order and law still flying, by reminding the eminent Coler that the civil-service rules of December 31, 1897, are still in force, that under them no man can be appointed except after open competitive examination, and no member of the classified service can be removed without reasons in writing and opportunity of defending himself. Consequently, if Mr. Coler pays any man who has not been so appointed, he is personally liable for the amount he pays; if he refuses to pay a man who has not been so dismissed, he can be enjoined. The Association will put the law in force if necessary. We only hope the office-holders will assist it by standing their ground. The practice of running away when a Tammany man appears to take the place, is treason to the government and the law.

The letter which Mr. Roberts, Comptroller of the State, has addressed to Mr. Aldridge of the Public Works Department, upon the subject of canal improvements, depicts what has been from the outset the inevitable sequel of the latter's appointment by Gov. Morton in 1895. Mr. Aldridge was credited with saying at the time of his appointment that it was his intention to "make the canals Republican." Mr. Roberts shows that this is what he has been doing. Mr. Aldridge had been an active Platt politician for several years, and was an avowed believer in machine politics. Almost his first act on entering office was to defy the civil-service law of the State in regard to the selection of subordinates in his department, and nothing but a decision of the Court of Appeals availed to convince him that he must obey the law. He seems to have been taking the same contemptuous view of the law in regard to the expenditure of the $9,000,000 voted by the people for canal improvement. As Mr. Roberts says, the people voted this expenditure upon the statement and understanding that the contemplated work could be completed for that sum. Mr. Aldridge has been at work on a totally different basis, knowledge of which he has concealed from at least two of his fellow-members in the Canal Board, the Comptroller and the Attorney-General. These officials say that they gave their approval to the plans for the expenditure of the $9,000,000 with the belief, based upon Aldridge's statements, that the entire work would be completed within the appropriation. Now they learn from Aldridge that at least $7,000,000 more will be necessary to complete the work, and they are asked to support him in a request to the Legislature to authorize this additional expenditure. The Comptroller refuses to do this, on the ground that so large an additional outlay ought not to be undertaken until formally authorized by the people. He says with unanswerable force: "It would appear to me that we have no right to assume that the people would have authorized the expenditure of $16,000,000 for this improvement simply because they authorized the expenditure of $9,000,000, or that they would have authorized the expenditure of $9,000,000 had they realized that that sum would only half do the work." This style of reasoning, however, will seem very childish to Aldridge and Platt.

The extraordinary excitement in France over the Dreyfus affair, renewed as it is just now in the trial of Count Esterhazy, arises from the stirring of two powerful passions—those connected with the national defence and with anti-Semitism. Anything that touches the army has, since 1870, touched the heart of "mutilated" France. Plans for revenge on Germany are no doubt extremely vague in the French mind, but their very vagueness gives the best opportunity in the world for all sorts of wild fears to be excited in connection with them. If the army is as unready as it was in 1870, if the plans of mobilization are sold to the Germans, Frenchmen think themselves "betrayed" again, and there is no more furious being in the world than a Frenchman who thinks himself betrayed. But the peculiar exasperation due to dislike and dread of the Jews has to be added in to account for the pitch of popular frenzy which the Dreyfus affair has touched. Other officers have been tried and convicted for selling documents relating to the national defence, and no national explosion followed. In 1890 Lieut. Bonnet was convicted at Nancy of this offence; in 1888 an adjutant was found guilty of a similar crime; the same charge was fastened upon Capt. Guillot in 1895. But they were not Jews, and Dreyfus was. That he was rich, and that therefore no motive for his treachery could be produced, of course only heightened his offence in the popular mind; it was just that kind of causeless crime which his race was famous for. As the Anti-Semite *Libre Parole* said, from the beginning, "The officer is a Jew," and that was enough. The Minister of War and the court-martial continue to assert that the proof against Dreyfus was conclusive. It would seem highly desirable to publish it then, inasmuch as the only documents which have been published turn out to be far from conclusive.

The German logic in the argument for a big navy is as hard to follow as that of our own reasoners on the same subject. Look at our beggarly array of war-ships, said William to the Reichstag; actually fewer now than in 1885. How can you expect to develop a foreign trade with no fighting-ships to protect your merchant marine? But we thought, timidly interposed some one, relying on parliamentary privilege to escape a prosecution for treason—we thought our foreign trade had been increasing rather remarkably. Of course it has been, triumphantly reply the German Admiralty, and print figures to show that Germany's foreign commerce expanded more than $200,000,000 between 1881 and 1895. Well, how could that be with the battle-ships actually diminishing? And if trade has been doing so well without a big navy, why must we have a big navy in order to make trade do well? This might look, to the merely human intellect, as the theologians say, like a "poser"; but naval logic is not at all embarrassed by it. The answer to it is, (1) trade has increased because we are a strong, enterprising, inventive people, but we shall not remain so a day longer without a lot of war-ships; (2) your view is colonial, provincial, and altogether outgrown; (3) we are going to have ships, anyhow, and you had better look out, or you will be in jail for *lèse-majesté*.

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THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND CURRENCY REFORM.

The prompt and cordial response given on Thursday by the Chamber of Commerce to the call for the reassembling of the Indianapolis convention was a very encouraging symptom. The remarks made by Mr. Rhoades, Mr. Dodge, and others, implied that the commercial interests of New York approve of the report of the Monetary Commission, and that they may be counted on as the supporters of a vigorous movement for currency reform. The brief speech of ex-Secretary Fairchild, giving some account of the reasons governing the commission in reaching their conclusions, received the warm applause of the Chamber.

In this speech we desire to draw attention particularly to the concluding portion, which explains why the commission saw fit to endorse the plan for banknote issues based upon the assets of the banks. It is agreed upon all hands that if such note issues can be made safe—that is, if they can be so made that the noteholder shall in no case be a loser by accepting them—then such a system is much to be preferred to the present system of bond-secured note issues. The reasons why it is better are that it is less expensive, more convenient, and more responsive to the exigencies of trade. It is less expensive because the bank is not obliged to invest its capital at the outset in Government bonds which command a high premium in the market. The primary object of banking is to collect the little streams of floating capital in the community into a common reservoir and use the same for the discount of commercial paper—in other words, to furnish ready means to the producers and dealers in goods, thus quickening the industries of the locality and bringing a return to the owners of the capital so employed.

This is the main part of the credit system of modern times, of which banknote issues are one branch, but not the largest division. The largest branch is the system of checks and deposits, as to which no Government-bond security is required, and upon which no limitation is put by law except that a certain reserve of cash shall be kept in proportion to the deposits. Note issues are liabilities of the bank of identically the same nature as deposits, differing only in the time that they usually remain outstanding. They circulate rather more widely than checks, but they are payable out of the same fund, and usually in the same way. Ordinarily the notes would be as safe as the checks, even without any Government interference. But it is indispensable, for various reasons, that the notes should be safer than the checks—in fact, that they should be perfectly safe. It is acknowledged that anything short of this—any system which should leave a workingman exposed to the loss of his wages by bad banknotes—would be swept aside with popular fury upon the first occasion of such loss. No such system could survive, or ought to.

The plan proposed by the Monetary Commission has certain safeguards intended to prevent any such loss. These are matters of detail. The fundamental principle, as stated by Mr. Fairchild, is that everything of a pecuniary nature, including the Government credit, is based upon the business transactions of the people, that these business transactions are for the most part carried on through the medium of the banks, that the assets of the banks are the kernel and essence of the whole mass, and that if, at any particular time, they are not sound, we are all bankrupt, the Government included. This is demonstrably true. It is patent at a glance. Therefore, the plan of banknote issues based upon the assets of the banks is philosophically sound, and it is only necessary to provide against sporadic cases of failure, and against premeditated swindling, in order to make such issues safe in all cases. This it is proposed to do in part by a system of mutual insurance through the medium of a common guarantee fund.

The advantages of such a system in a financial sense have been often explained. Are there not advantages of a political sort also to be looked for? The demand for the free coinage of silver in the Southern States (without whose cooperation free coinage as a political issue would disappear in a twinkling) has been based on the idea, honestly entertained, that that was the only way by which a sufficient amount of currency could be obtained to meet the wants of trade. It is useless to argue with a man or a community in whom this conception has gained lodgment. The only thing to do is to put before that community some better remedy for the supposed evil. That the South is open to conviction in this way there is abundant reason to believe. At all events, the present is a most favorable time for testing the disposition of that section. If her people are offered the opportunity to issue banknotes without a previous pledge of Government bonds, but with adequate safeguards for the goodness of the notes, and if they still prefer the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, then we shall at least know where we stand. We may begin to buckle on our armor for the same sort of campaign in 1900 that we had in 1896. But in no case should we support any system of banknote issues that we did not regard as absolutely sound.

OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM.

If a business man, seeking credit from a bank or from a fellow-merchant, were asked on what he based the expectation that he should be able to meet his notes at maturity, and were to say, "I do not know exactly, but I am a lucky fellow; no serious misfortune has ever happened to me, and I feel sure all will come out right in the end"—would the bank or a fellow-merchant be satisfied and let him have the money? If the general of an army opposed to Napoleon, or Moltke, or Grant, were asked for what reason he thought he should beat him, and were to answer that he had no reason except the abundance of his resources, or the goodness of his cause, would his Government be apt to let him try his fortune? Would it not be dreadfully frightened, and look about at once for somebody who had a plan of campaign and knew how to manœuvre an army? Is there any department of human activity, except government, in which an optimist has any standing, or is listened to? None, so far as we know. In human business, naked, unaided optimism, optimism which has nothing to rest on except buoyancy of temperament, has no place. It would speedily ruin any human undertaking. What successful business rests on is thinking clear and seeing straight, and leaving nothing to chance which can be kept from chance. What the business man seeks is a clear, dry light, not a rosy light, or a pink light, or a "dim religious light." An optimistic bank or an optimistic dry-goods house would soon have a visit from the sheriff. An optimistic business man would soon become a penniless laughing-stock. The type of such men is Wilkins Micawber, who is always waiting for "something to turn up," and believing that it is sure to do so.

But this optimism, which has to be so sternly denied a place in business undertakings, actually has complete control of our government—so much so that any attempt to question, decry, or criticise it is treated as what is called "pessimism," which to many minds is a kind of disease, whereas in nine cases out of ten it is simply the application to politics of business principles. It is passing judgment on politicians and measures by the same rules by which men carry on trade or commerce, and keeping a constant watch against self-deception. Baseless optimism is the characteristic of children. A child, from want of experience, thinks he shall be happy and well to-morrow because he has been so to-day, and he naturally hates the man who bores him with warnings about the quicksands and snares of life. A successful man knows something of contingencies, and succeeds by providing against them.

A very striking illustration of the way optimism works in politics may be found in Mr. Dingley's financial career. In Congress, he alleged, without any data to go on, that the additions to the tariff which he proposed would increase the

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revenue by $113,000,000. This was the amount by which he *wished* to increase it, and he said, therefore, that this was the amount by which he *should* increase it. The pessimists told him this was a mistake, and instead of an increase, he has a deficit of over $40,000,000 in the first half year. But you may be sure he hates the pessimists. Again, some New York tailors told him that by annoying European travellers returning in the fall, overhauling their baggage and levying duty on their wearing-apparel purchased abroad, he would secure $10,000,000. He believed this story, because this was the amount he wished to get from this source. Well, in the month of September, when most travellers return, he got $96,000. In the other months he probably did not get half as much, and if he has got $400,000 in all in the six months, it is the very outside. For this he has exasperated thousands of his countrymen, and made his government the laughing-stock of foreigners. But we may be sure he damns the pessimists.

Another illustration is the career of Platt. Platt has been coming for fifteen years—that is, slowly building up a machine like that which the Democrats constructed under Fernando Wood, Tweed, and Hill. He has done it all in the light of day, in the presence of all the people of the State. Every year has seen a little addition made to his power; has seen the influence of enlightened and educated opinion on the State Government gradually diminishing; has seen the habit of open discussion declining; has seen the passage of the Legislature and of the high officials more and more under the control of this one corrupt and ignorant man—has seen, in short, the gradual disappearance of the old State of New York, the State of Marcy, and Silas Wright, and Seward, as a political organization. All this time the pessimists have been pointing out how, according to all human experience, this would end; but it was not till Platt owned the Legislature, like cattle, had made himself Senator, like Tiberius, had committed every kind of fraud in support of his power, and had combined with Tammany to hand the city over to the hordes of corruption, that the optimists could be induced to say a word or lift a finger against him. They are busy now warning, and denouncing, and lamenting, but they remind us of bank clerks who, after having allowed strangers to rove about the building and visit the vaults for days, should begin to descant on their rascality when they found the securities gone. Any one may read in Friday's *Tribune* what is really the wail of the optimists over Platt's gross abuse of the confidence of his unsuspecting countrymen.

One of the worst features of political optimism is its crass reliance on material prosperity. In this field it has, of course, an easy victory over the pessimists. Nothing can hinder America from being the greatest money-making country in the world for centuries to come, except loss of security for property, which is not in the least likely to occur. No matter what changes of government may take place, whether we live under a free constitution, or a Cæsar, or a boss, we may be sure population will grow, the revenue swell, the hotels become more gorgeous, the teas and luncheons and the private cars become more numerous. No pessimist who is not a blockhead will deny this. But what about the old American government, "consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots," as Wendell Phillips said—the government of free men, "knowing, uttering, and arguing freely, according to conscience"? Where will this be? Is optimism saving it? Has optimism as yet provided means for its rescue from foreign malice or domestic treason? The very worst feature about political optimism is the utter indifference to *tendencies* which it teaches; and yet tendencies to the good citizen are what rocks are, or ought to be, to the careful seaman. Nothing in the great ocean of modern democracy needs closer watching. Optimism teaches us to pay no attention to them, but, when we see something unpleasant occurring, to dismiss it from our minds and "whoop her up with the boys." So our city to-day is in the hands of a band of ignorant foreigners, acting in concert with a band of knavish natives, and we are furious with any one who reminds us that nearly all great evils have small beginnings.

"STRAIGHT LINES."

There never has been any telling what new phase the Hawaiian question would next take on. New reasons for annexing it crop up nearly every day. The Government was overthrown by missionaries' sons on account of the heathenism and unchastity of their own converts. It was then proposed that we should annex it lest England should get it, though it had long been formally announced that it was under our protection, and that we should not allow any other Power to take it; so that we had then to believe not only that England would take it, but that she would go to war with us to get it. On England's failing to lay claim to it, we were to take it as "a key to the Pacific." We then all went to work to discover what "a key to the Pacific" was, and all we could learn was that "a key to the Pacific" was an island in the Pacific where we should invite foreigners to come and fight us. But here Capt. Mahan intervened in an unseemly and unpatriotic fashion by saying boldly that an island in the Pacific would be of no use as a place to fight in, unless we had a fleet to protect the island; that to make an island a "key," it has to have fleets to anchor around it, and that we had no fleet ready, and were not likely to have one for some years. This seemed to bring the discussion into an *impasse*. A great silence came on the Hawaiians as soon as they found they were of no good as a "key." So they waited to see what would happen next. The key theory had been their main reliance, and its breakdown seemed to paralyze them.

Light suddenly came from an unexpected quarter. As soon as the Consecrated Person sent Our Brother to China to seize the Bay of Kiao-Chau, the Hawaiians felt that their clock had struck twelve. Russia and Germany were going to seize bits of China; this showed at last—that we should seize a bit of China? that we should enter into an alliance with England and Japan in order to get a fair share of the booty from Russia and Germany? Heaven forbid. "Such a thing is not for a moment to be supposed." What it showed was that we should seize Hawaii. It proved the futility of all the leading arguments against the seizure—the sudden departure from our traditions; the absence from our system of any machinery for governing dependencies; the admission of alien, inferior, and mongrel races to our nationality; the opening of fresh fields to carpetbaggers, speculators, and corruptionists; the un-Americanism of governing a large body of people against their will, and by persons not responsible to them; the entrance on a policy of conquest and annexation while our own continent was still unreclaimed, our population unassimilated, and many of our most serious political problems still unsolved; and finally the danger of the endorsement of a gross fraud for the first time by a Christian nation. All these things the Consecrated Person disposed of at one stroke by seizing Kiao-Chau Bay.

The absence from this reasoning of an undistributed middle at first plunged us in perplexity. But it seems that there is no middle term in it of the ordinary kind, and we are not to look for one. The syllogism runs in this way: The Consecrated Person has seized Kiao-Chau Bay; if we draw a straight line from San Francisco to Hong Kong, or from Victoria to Sydney, or from Nicaragua to Shanghai, it will pass through Hawaii; therefore we should annex Hawaii. This conclusion seems overwhelming if the straight lines aforesaid really pass through Hawaii; we should be the last to resist such ratiocination. But do they? All depends on this. In a little work published by the Hawaiian Government, which lies before us, there is a map which shows that a straight line from every important place on earth, if drawn carefully with a ruler, does pass through Hawaii. Straight lines on this map from Port Stanley, Valparaiso,

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Lima, Panama, New Orleans, San Diego, Portland, San Francisco, Victoria, Sitka, Bering Strait, Kamtchatka, Katar, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Hue, Singapore, Borneo, New Guinea, New Hebrides, Sidney, Auckland, and Tahiti, all meet in Honolulu. It seems as if more "straight lines" meet there than in any other place in the world, and they undoubtedly suggest the conquest of all the places they start from, as part of the great work before us.

But, being of a cautious temperament, we looked at the official Pilot Chart of the North Pacific, issued by the Hydrographic Office in Washington, and we found, either that the Hydrographic Office had been "got at" by the British, or that "the straight lines" did not get to Hawaii in the manner described by the missionary government. The only lines which meet in Honolulu are one from San Francisco and one from Yokohama, and one from Hong Kong. But they are not straight. That from San Francisco deflects about 15 degrees south, and that from Yokohama about 10 degrees. Hong Kong is the only place that sends a line approaching to straightness, to Honolulu. It is only the Hong Kong steamer that comes in honestly, or can be fairly used by us to justify annexation. We can find no precedent for using as "a key" any island which could not be approached in a straight line, and we think every government should be careful to have lines drawn on its maps that will support its policy. Railroad companies are always mindful of this in making their maps. Their own line is always the shortest between any two given places, and the places it reaches are always the principal ones. If we are to annex by lines, we must see that the lines are straight, and that there are plenty of them. We must not allow our maps to be got out by ignorant astronomers or navigators. Lively "American" newspaper men are the people for that sort of work. A map constructed by them of any sea, inlet, island, or bay is sure to show that we ought to have it, that we always owned it, and that, if we do not take it, two Powers at least are waiting to grab it or buy it.

TROUBLES OF THE FRENCH PRESS.

The report that a more stringent libel law is to be pushed in the Chamber must surprise those who know how stringent the French law of libel already is. Our leading editors would go to jail in a body if they were living under it. The most violently suspect politician, the all but proved rascal, is safe, under the French law, from having his name bandied about in the newspapers as with us. All must be done by way of insinuation. Thus, when the scandal of the sale of Legion of Honor decorations in President Grévy's time came out, the *XIXe Siècle*, which fired the train, and which had all the facts and all the names in its possession, had to be very guarded. Instead of naming outright the trafficking General, it could only say that he was "un officier général porteur d'un nom historique." So the woman in the case, Madame Limouzin, could be alluded to only as a "certain lady living not far from the Arc de Triomphe."

The French newspapers have long had a bad name, and, we fear, with warrant, for venality. This may be due in part to the fact that they have not built up such valuable business properties as we know all our newspapers to be—on their own confession. Without a large income from advertising, the newspaper proprietor, who "must live," has in France had peculiar temptations when an Arton has a Panama "campaign in the press" to make, and 2,000,000 francs to do it with. But it is not because their columns are more than ever purchasable, or are thought to be, that the new complaint against French newspapers has made itself heard, and is believed to inspire the attempt to increase the risks and penalties of libel by the press. The trouble lies in practices borrowed from the most offensive English and American newspapers. What the French call "reportage" has grown portentously among them in recent years. The lying interview (the introduction of the thing has compelled the poverty-stricken French language to invent the verb "interviewer"), the exploitation and glorification of crime, the frothy blowing up of the trivial and of empty gossip—all the peering and prying and impudence and insult which we know so well under the name of reporter's enterprise, has made its way into French journalism to the dismay of its victims.

In the recently published 'Mémoires' of M. Goron, ex-Chief of the Paris "Sûreté," he has a chapter devoted to the press in its relation to crime. It is curious to see our most advanced newspaper methods there reproduced. The French press, too, is coming to have its sleuth-hound reporters, keener of nose than any Javert that ever lived, able to see deeper into a millstone than Sherlock Holmes; and as for comparing them with any mere policeman or detective, why, the thing is absurd. In Paris as well as New York the reporters drive the police authorities frantic with their meddling, their rage for defeating justice by indiscreet publicity, their advising criminals of the steps taken to effect their capture. M. Goron intimates that more than one fleeing felon has owed his escape to a friendly hint conveyed to him by the *Petit Journal*. So high had the evil mounted that M. Goron's predecessor determined at one time to shut his door in the face of all reporters, to give them absolutely no news. But they at once turned upon him so savagely as the greatest criminal going, and proceeded to make his life so miserable, that he was forced to rescind his obnoxious order. His only resource was to make his "renseignements" to the newspapers as mysterious and misleading as possible.

All things come at last to the novelist in France, and so we have the French reporter, new style, made the subject of a realistic "roman contemporain." The book is by M. Paul Brulat, and he entitles it 'Le Reporter,' warning the reader that it is only "the first volume of a series on contemporary journalism." This of itself suggests that a new journalism has grown up in France to be studied—and why should it not be? asks M. Brulat.

> "Why should the press escape the investigation which we moderns apply to all worlds, to all professions? We have studied judges, priests, soldiers, workingmen, peasants, tradespeople, politicians—why not journalists? The press which denounces, attacks, scourges, assumes the right to expose all abuses and redress all wrongs, can scarcely expect to remain unassailable, to withdraw itself from criticism. . . . Why should it dread the results of an impartial scrutiny of itself? It certainly can lose nothing by having the truth known, so great is the zeal of journalists in discrediting each other."

Under M. Brulat's realistic pen a sad picture comes out of what Gaston Deschamps calls, in the *Temps*, the "stupefying progress and the monstrous methods of *reportage*." One would think, he says, to judge from the growth and popularity of this kind of journalism, that the French nation was made up solely of hysterical *concierges*. Thus we see how our Servant's Own newspapers are extending their conquests. Nor does M. Deschamps omit to ask what is the complicity of the public in the monstrosities of journalism. It is for each one, he writes, to make an examination of his conscience on this subject. Do peaceable citizens like a daily douche of filth and crime and scandal? If not, why do they appear to like it by patronizing those who put it on sale? We wearily recall asking such questions ourselves more than once, and if M. Deschamps gets a rational answer to them, he will be luckier than we have been.

If unable to suppress or discourage an irresponsible, a crime-loving and crime-breeding press, how can we arm ourselves against it? How can we help the public mind to free itself from its terrors? This, too, is a question which they are asking in France, and one of the most sensible answers we have seen is that given by M. Raymond Poincaré in the *Revue Bleue*. A first step, he says, is to free ourselves from the superstitious regard for the printed page. There is, indeed, something besotted, something Arabic, in the awe of otherwise sensible men in the presence of a few lines of print. There it is in the papers! But, as M. Poincaré says, the very absurdities of the typographic gods thus worshipped are working their ruin. Even unedu-

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cated people are beginning to say that an extravagant article in a newspaper is of no more account than the maunderings of a drunken man in a café—perhaps it is really just that, only with the advantage of being in type. This is a great gain. To know Mumbo Jumbo of the press for the toothless old idol he is, is the beginning of better things. Then, as M. Poincaré adds, it is necessary for honest men to cultivate the new form of courage which the excesses of the modern press call for. They must learn to despise its attacks, to contemn and denounce its lies, to loathe its grossness. When we come generally to treat a coarse mountebank who has managed to possess himself of ink and paper and a cylinder press, as still nothing but a coarse mountebank, and leave off silly talk about "editors" and "the press," we shall have done a good deal towards driving back into its native sewer much of what passes for news and journalism.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

DUBLIN, December 25, 1897.

The Irish land question, as usual, is occupying a large share of public attention. The last Land Act was passed in 1896, and was a patch on the former medley of land laws. It purported to make great changes in the existing system, but one of the reasons why laws in Ireland fail in their intended effects is, that their administration is usually placed in the hands of persons who abhor the principles on which these laws are based, whose practice, if not whose object, is to make out that the new and disliked law means nothing, or as little as possible. And so it has been with the Land Act of 1896, which was passed through the House of Commons with enormous trouble, but also with much haste.

After two refusals to appoint a commission to inquire into the operation of a law that had not so far had any effect, Lord Salisbury at length surrendered to the landlords and appointed a commission of inquiry. It then appeared that what the landlords objected to was not the recent law, but all the laws regulating the relations of landlord and tenant and protecting the expenditure of Irish farmers from being confiscated by their landlords. Common decency would have required that at least one representative of the tenants' interests should have been placed on the commission. It consists, however, of (1) an English ex-Judge, Sir Edward Fry, an admittedly able and upright man, but steeped in the old and narrow traditions of English lawyers as to the rights of landed property; (2) a London surveyor and valuer, conversant with city property; (3) a Scotch agricultural surveyor; (4) an Irish landlord of the most aggressively violent type; (5) a solicitor whose principal business has been selling landlords' estates at high prices to the tenants.

The proceedings of this commission have not appeared to be very fair. Contrary to the usual practice, they have allowed counsel to conduct the inquiry instead of doing so themselves; knowing that the landlord organization had procured the best counsel obtainable for money, while the tenants had merely some junior barristers of little or no experience in the land courts. Landlord witnesses have been allowed to express their thoughts and beliefs, to tell what they have heard and suspected, to ramble all over the land controversy and dilate on their alleged grievances; while tenant witnesses were sharply checked, told that what they were saying was not legal evidence and could not be received, and were allowed to be bullied and brow-beaten by the landlords' counsel, and generally hurried out of the witness-chair instead of being questioned at length on the points to be inquired into. At these inquiries it is impossible for a witness to state his views unless questioned skilfully and sympathetically; he is not allowed to make long statements, or anything in the nature of a speech; he is effectually shut up by being asked a very few unimportant questions, and then, "Is there anything else you wish to say?" He has attended in the belief that the commission want to get information from him, and finds that all they want is to get rid of him as quickly as possible.

The ignorance shown by the three British Commissioners of the conditions of Irish land tenure and of the Irish land laws is illustrated by their frequently asking the tenant witnesses, "If your rent is too high, why don't you surrender your farm to the landlord?" as if they were quite unaware that most Irish farms have been created by the tenants, and that their present value is due to the tenants' expenditure in building, draining, fencing, reclamation, and road-making. These Commissioners have not yet taken in that the law purports to give the tenant a right to hold his farm at a rent less than its present fair value, by the amount the tenant has contributed to make the farm of that value. It would be as reasonable to tell the Esquimaux that if the conditions of life in Greenland don't suit them, they can go away and live in London. The population of Ireland are not farmers by choice, but from the necessary force of circumstances; in the past they have shown a very great willingness to go away when it was possible. Even now it is the aim of many young people to save enough money to take them to the United States, though their parents, naturally enough, desire to keep them at home. Thousands of young people would still gladly leave Ireland if they had the means to do so, but only because the conditions of life are still such as to make comfort and independence impossible. The main question for the mass of the people is whether they can have their farms at such rents that they can "live and thrive." If they have, they may defy the landlord and his bailiffs, but unless rents are low, there can be no security for home or household. Eviction notices for impossible rents have already deprived hundreds of tenants of the qualified security of tenure which the Land Law of 1881 purported to give them.

The late spring and the cold wet summer of the past year almost completely destroyed the oat and potato crop in the poorest parts of the country, and the population of many districts is now face to face with famine. Already deaths are reported, not from starvation, but from eating diseased potatoes, and from fever of an epidemic character. Although "fair rents" are supposed to have been fixed by the Land Courts, no rent, in the economic sense of the term, has been earned from the land. It is claimed, nevertheless, and may be enforced by seizures of what goods can be seized, or by eviction. It has never been possible for the farmers in these districts to accumulate capital on which they could draw for support in years of scarcity. Stuart Mill's explanation of Ireland's poverty is still true of many large areas. "Returning nothing to the soil," he said, "the landlords consume its whole produce minus the potatoes strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of hunger." It is not possible to get exact figures on the subject, but it seems probable that at least £1,000,000 a year of rent is paid in Ireland by means of remittances received from friends and relatives in America and the Colonies.

The autumn speeches of political leaders of all parties have been devoted, not only to criticism and defence of the present Government's actions, but to the formulation of programmes for the coming session of Parliament. What is termed the alliance of the Irish Nationalists with the English Liberal party has been the subject of much discussion; but no such alliance exists. The Nationalists have, naturally enough, given a general support to the party that brought in the Home Rule bill, but have voted against them over and over again when that party, from the Irish point of view, was in the wrong. The Nationalists have been challenged to require from the Liberal party, or its leaders, pledges to put home rule in the forefront of its programme. But such pledges would be worthless unless the relative strength of English parties enabled Irishmen to compel their fulfilment. It is most improbable that the Liberals should ever have a majority in the Imperial Parliament without the help of the Irish, and only a united Irish party will enable the Liberals to make home rule an effective plank in their platform. Some of the stanchest English adherents of the home-rule cause hold that until manhood suffrage is established, and the House of Lords reformed, abolished, or limited in power, no measure of home rule can be passed. It is manifestly useless passing any measure which it is known that the House of Lords can reject with impunity. Until the Liberals are in power, it would be quite premature for Irish parties to define what their action is to be. If it seems desirable to support manhood suffrage and abolition of the House of Lords' veto as a means to passing a home-rule bill, it would be both right and expedient for Irish members to do so.

The recent speeches of John Morley, Herbert Gladstone, Asquith, and other prominent English Liberals indicate that they are as firmly convinced as ever of the necessity of home rule for Ireland, in the interest, not only of Ireland, but of the British Empire. The Liberal leaders, however, show a great lack of affability and frankness towards Ireland. Their party can scarcely hope to return to power without the aid of the Irish Nationalists. But the English Liberals never speak in Ireland. If the leaders of the Liberal party made a practice of coming over here and declaring, not their programme in detail, but the principles on which they proposed to act towards Ireland, they might secure the support and the hearty coöperation of the mass of Irish voters. We have no doubt been fooled over and over again by promises from both English parties; but when the choice lies between the Conservatives and the Liberals, there is no

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doubt that the majority in Ireland would support the party which advocates home rule and equal and simultaneous legislation for the two countries.

The overtaxation of Ireland continues to engage increasing attention. The Unionist party have now taken up the question with a good deal of the zeal of converts. The decreasing population of Ireland, and its decreasing capacity to bear fiscal burdens, become more manifest every year; they contrast so strongly with the growth of population and prosperity in Great Britain that the unfairness to Ireland of the existing fiscal system can no longer be questioned. The report of the Royal Commission, presided over by Mr. Childers, three years ago, was conclusive, but highly embarrassing to the present Government, which announced that another commission would be appointed, practically to refute the conclusions of the former one. This has never been done; and it is well-known that the reason is that the Government cannot get the services of men of sufficient eminence for their opinions to carry any weight, and subservient enough to report the conclusion wanted. The grievance is one which Irish Nationalists have never ceased to expose; the Irish Unionists are now convinced; but it is doubtful whether their convictions are strong enough to make them stand shoulder to shoulder with the Nationalists, and vote against the Conservative Government on vital questions as a means of compelling attention and action.

The promised local-government bill of next session will afford an opportunity for all Irish parties to show some solidarity as to the financial treatment to be accorded to Ireland, and there are many indications that they will do so. AN IRISHMAN.

LITHOGRAPHS AT DÜSSELDORF.

LONDON, December 29, 1897.

An event that, in Paris, may attract the attention of the world, if it comes off in a small German town will, more likely than not, pass unnoticed. Everybody went to the centenary exhibition of lithographs held at the Champ de Mars in 1895, and everybody talked about it; next to nothing has been said of a no less interesting show just about to close at Düsseldorf. Of course, if this had been merely the Paris exhibition over again, there would have been no reason to speak of it. But, while it covers very nearly the same ground, while it also has its two sections—the one retrospective, the other representative of contemporary lithography—it differs in certain important details. In Paris, naturally, the French lithographers were chiefly in evidence; in Düsseldorf one sees more of the German work, both the old and the modern. Something of the character of the exhibition is explained when I say that it includes but one Raffet, but one Charlet, that there are but six prints by Gavarni, but two by Daumier; though it should be added that if there are only a couple of examples of Delacroix, these fortunately are from his "Faust"—the Margaret at Church and the Witches' Sabbath; designs which are seldom seen now, but were almost his earliest public profession of Romanticism, proving him, it was said at the time, a leader of *l'école du laid*. They strike one now as rather sensational and self-conscious, but they received the approval of Goethe, though this means little. They had a tremendous influence for a while, and they are unquestionably historical documents of great value.

If the comparatively limited number of French prints is a loss to the collection, since it is in France that the art of lithography was first developed and ultimately perfected, on the other hand it was in Germany that lithography was invented, and many of the lithographs shown are closely associated with the history of the invention. When, in 1795, Senefelder, much to his own surprise, and quite by chance, discovered a method of engraving on stone (lithography proper, surface printing, or chemical printing, as he called it, was not evolved by him until three years later), his first thought was to apply it to the printing of music. It is interesting, then, to find examples of the music produced by the Senefelder house at Munich during the very first period of its existence. Six variations for the piano are dated 1800 (the year in which Senefelder went from Offenbach to London to secure the English patent) and signed Theob: Senefelder; Theobold being one of the brothers taken into partnership by Aloys, the inventor, and afterwards the torment of his life. It is interesting again to see a print of 1804, with the title "Polyautographische Zeichnung"; Poly-autography being the name borne by lithography at the outset. Another notable print is a portrait of Senefelder, by H. Ott, printed at Offenbach by J. André, one of the house with which Senefelder's early fortunes were so intimately connected. And a clue to his after fortunes is to be had in the portrait of his grandchildren, Louis, Henrietta, and Christine; a lithograph by Llanta after a portrait by Ben. Adam, the children's guardian, published at Paris many years later for their benefit, they having inherited, with the family name, little but the family poverty and misfortunes. Work by Engelmann and Lasteyrie, the pioneers of lithography in Paris, both of whom studied with Senefelder, is here; and there are many examples of the copies of paintings and drawings made on the stone by Strixner, Piloty, Hanfstängel, and others.

When Senefelder joined with Baron Aretin to start a new firm in Munich, and the artistic possibilities of his method began to be practically realized, the copying of pictures and designs was the work to which artist-lithographers were put, and Strixner and Piloty were among the first to execute Senefelder's commissions. His satisfaction with them he placed on record in his short Memoir. In the old days, few German artists of distinction ventured to use the stone as a medium of original expression; few attempted to vie with the inexhaustible caricaturists and illustrators of France, the industrious architectural draughtsmen and portraitists of England. It seemed as if Germany was content with the glory of the invention. Of the story of lithography in that country there would be little to tell, from the death of Senefelder until the present, were it not for Menzel; and it is, therefore, only as it should be that Menzel at Düsseldorf is well and characteristically represented. With Menzel, born in the opening years of the century, modern illustration, of which lithography is a branch, virtually begins, and his first work, it should be remembered, was in lithography, and also, strangely enough, some of his most recent. The earliest of his prints now at Düsseldorf dates back to 1835, the last, "Das Refectorium," belongs to 1860, so that the series is not altogether complete, though it affords ample proof that on stone, as on wood or paper, Menzel was the accomplished draughtsman, the master of his medium. Perhaps the most remarkable print is the very elaborate, highly finished "Christus als Knabe im Tempel," dated 1852, with its marvellous study of Jews.

To come to the modern section is to find the German artist at last, after a long century, beginning to understand the resources of lithography, and to use it as a means of multiplying—not reproducing, as the critics usually describe it—an original design. There is no doubt that the new vitality given to the art has come to Germany by way of France. If it had not been for *L'Estampe Originale*, and other publications of the kind, we might not have had *Pan* or *Jugend*, that extremely clever weekly, now published at Munich. But the younger Germans, wherever they derived their inspiration, have not allowed their debt to others to suppress altogether their own individuality, though they are too ready to cringe before the decayed remains of English Pre-Raphaelitism, and though with many individuality is but another name for affectation. You feel this even in the work of Hans Thoma, distinctly the strongest of them all. Often as his lithographs have been shown in the smaller London galleries, I have not seen such a complete collection as he has sent to Düsseldorf. One may weary a little of the mysticism, at present the fashion, that has guided him in the choice and treatment of his subjects. But Thoma can draw, and most of the modern mystics cannot, their mysticism being a cloak to hide all technical defects. He is a genuine primitive, but whether the resurrection of the technical shortcomings of the primitives is the highest form of art, the future must decide. Personally, I am of the opinion that very little of this sort of work will be heard of by coming generations. More individual really than Thoma are men like A. Frenz and Otto Greiner. They, too, are mystics, if you will, but their mysticism is carried out in a modern spirit. They are prophets of the ugly—that is, they give the most realistic renderings of their models—but often the results are very fine, and at times, though rarely, very decorative in the right sense. They have always enough character to be interesting. There are many other Germans who show good or clever lithographs; but to mention them all would be to produce a list of names meaning little in America, where, I fancy, their work is still to be seen. It is more to the purpose to point out that the two great achievements of modern lithography in Germany are, first, the excellence of the portraits that are being made on stone and paper, chiefly by Fechner, Gentz, and Kalckreuth; and second, the beauty and distinction of the color work. This has absolutely nothing in common with the chromo-lithography of commerce. The effect is at times produced by using one or two different colored inks on a tinted paper, a favorite device; at others, by printing in flat washes, somewhat in the manner of the Japanese wood-engraver. Wonderful prints have been done in this way, far more effective, for instance, than the colored reproductions after Mr. Nicholson, not the work of the artist, of which so much has recently been heard in England. For, as a draughtsman, Mr.

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Nicholson can but rarely rank with the German lithographers.

Of the work sent from other countries, there is nothing much to be said. The only lithographs I had not seen before which struck me as above the average were the portraits of Mesdag and Menzel and other celebrities by the Dutchman J. Veth; portraits full of character. A large display is made by France, but to the work of Fantin-Latour and Helleu, of Dillon and Lunois, of Lautrec and Steinlen, and innumerable others, I have referred so often in writing about the two Salons that it seems superfluous to describe it again. I was surprised, however, to come upon two examples of Manet which I do not think were with his lithographs at the Beaux-Arts in 1891, or at the Champ de Mars in 1895. One is another version of his execution of Maximilian, and it is curious to note how much more the commonplaceness of the composition is felt in the print than in the picture. Manet was the incomparable painter in *Le Bon Bock* and similar themes, but the dramatic was a quality which did not come within the range of his powers. It is curious, too, to find a man who was such a master of the brush so clumsy with the lithographic chalk. But Manet seldom could express himself in black-and-white, whatever his medium. With the exception of his drawing of the Raven for M. Mallarmé's translation of Poe, I know of no illustration by him worthy of a place beside his paintings.

The only lithographers the Germans have so far discovered in England are Shannon, Whistler, and Halloway: I give the names in the order in which they appear in the introduction of the catalogue. As in its pages, so upon the walls, it is to Mr. Shannon prominence is awarded, though he owes to Mr. Whistler almost everything that he has not borrowed from Sir E. Burne-Jones. In this section, however, I am afraid the hanging committee were altogether at sea; they have solemnly hung, as a lithograph, an etching by an artist who is not an Englishman, but an American, and who has made many lithographs. But, after all, as I have said, it is because of the chance it offers for the study of German work that the exhibition is worth seeing, and I only regret that it has been held in one of the smaller towns so rarely visited by the foreigner. N. N.

Correspondence.

A CORRECTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am duly grateful to you and to your reviewer for the kind words which are said about my anthology of 'English Lyric Poetry' in the Warwick Library in your number of December 9. The notice, however, gives the impression that there are numerous defects in the text and in the proof-reading. Of several such errors I am myself aware, and can only plead in excuse the "unavoidable residuum," and distance from the printer at the time the volume was going through the press. But inasmuch as I strove to secure the greatest attainable accuracy and authority of text, I cannot let the three instances of errors alleged by your reviewer pass without answer.

In the line from Peele's "Farewell to Arms" (p. 58),

"And feed on prayers, which are age his arms,"

which I am informed should read "old age his arms," I have followed the texts of Dyce and Bullen, which in turn are based on Peele's 'Polyhymnia,' 1590 (the only two copies known, I believe, are at Edinburgh, and in the Devonshire Collection). In Segar's 'Honor, Military and Civil,' 1602, page 199 (I have just verified the passage), where the poem is quoted, the reading for the last half of the line is "that are old ages almes." I know of no authority for "old age his arms," and I do not know by what canon of criticism the reading of Segar in 1602 should be preferred to that of Peele in 1590.

In the case of the reading from Vaughan (your reference should have been to p. 251),

"But what fair well or grove he sings in now,"

which, I am told, should be "what fair dell," the reply is even less doubtful. In the 'Silex Scintillans,' 1651, part ii., page 5 (again I have just verified the reading), Vaughan certainly gives, "But what fair Well." As Dr. Grosart long ago pointed out (in his edition of Vaughan, vol. i., p. 185, note), the author's reading certainly makes as good sense as that of his modern "improvers," and again I am at a loss to know why I was under obligation to change it.

As to the last line of "Waly, Waly," I am by no means so sure. I should certainly never venture to dispute the practically final authority of Prof. Child if it were a question of a ballad reading. But the poem is obviously sophisticated and "literary" in many other touches, and, as it seems to me, is to be accepted rather as an example of the influence of the ballad on the more popular literary lyric than as a pure ballad-song in itself. As it had obviously been freely touched many times before it came into Allingham's hands, he also was at liberty to try his own variations on it. In its peculiar mixed kind, I am inclined to think that the later version is an improvement. If you regard it as a ballad and a pure folk-song, of course your preference will be for the stricter and earlier version.

Frederic Ives Carpenter.

London, December 20, 1897.

[We should have been glad to have Mr. Carpenter's explanation of the apparently curious selection of a "well" as a place for a bird to sing in. Grosart suggests that it was doubtless an Eastern sunken well, with trees around it; and he gives another similar citation. This use of the word, we confess, had not occurred to us, nor had it apparently occurred to the editor of the Pickering edition of 1847, who gives the word as "dell." In the case of Peele's fine poem it is obvious that "prayers" must be prolonged into an emphatic dissyllable if the line is to read rhythmically. It is a curious fact that Segar, reprinting the poem only twelve years later than Peele's edition, should have treated "prayers" as a monosyllable, and apparently inserted "old" to make out the line.—Ed. Nation.]

THE SPECIE CIRCULAR ONCE MORE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of December 30 appears a communication from the University of Chicago which undertakes to make a positive contradiction of Prof. Sumner and Mr. Schouler in their assertion that a circular similar to the noted specie circular of President Jackson was issued in President Adams's administration. Your correspondent would deserve praise for historical research if he were a trifle less inclined to historical censure. "Similar" is a generic term not equivalent to "identical"; and it would seem that, after three columns of rather fine-spun exposition, he has hardly made his point that there was no similarity in the two documents. He quotes from a debate in the Senate on this subject, in which Benton maintained that there was a strong similarity, while his distinguished opponents, in their eager antagonism to Jackson, maintained as stoutly the contrary. Something should be allowed for party rage in such a debate; for, as Sir Roger de Coverley used to observe, "there is a great deal to be said on both sides."

Not content with his dogmatic conclusion, your correspondent further proceeds to impugn Mr. Schouler's accuracy and carefulness "in making important statements," and charges him with transferring to his own pages both the assertion and reference from Sumner's 'Jackson,' without verifying the one or the other. In the first place, Mr. Schouler evidently did not consider the matter of much importance, as it had only a casual bearing upon his description of Jackson's specie circular; and in all such matters any historian appears justified in citing so excellent a financial expert and scholar as Prof. Sumner by reference to his book and page accordingly. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Schouler did verify Prof. Sumner's reference for his own statement, and derived the same impression that Prof. Sumner himself did. Mr. Schouler's offence consists (4 Schouler 262) in describing Jackson's specie circular in his text, and then adding as a passing comment in the foot-note that "a similar circular" was once issued by Jackson's predecessor (citing, besides Sumner's Jackson 336, 7 J. Q. Adams's Diary 427). Adams's Diary, when referred to, shows that the specie circular issued by Rush was stricter in terms than that preceding it, and caused anger in Southern quarters. In any comparison of these two circulars it should be borne in mind that the United States Bank had failed to procure a recharter, and that its currency was no longer in normal circulation for Government dues, when Jackson's specie circular was issued. Your correspondent seems hardly to have taken this point into consideration in his criticism. J. S.

January 4, 1898.

PROTECTION OF FOREIGNERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The letter under the above title in the *Nation* for December 2 is funny enough, but the piece of stupidity it commemorates is outdone by the practice of the customs for years past under all administrations. It is very well known that Timothy Cole, an American-born and educated artist, has been working for the *Century* in the reproduction of works of art by various masters, and that

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his engravings on wood have gained a world-wide reputation as the most artistic *of their kind* that have ever been produced. It will be news, however, to most people in America or England, that the blocks, when engraved, are not admitted as works of art, but are classified as "carved wood," and, as such, subjected to a duty of 30 per cent., which, as they are priced at about $250 each, when of the size of the full-page blocks for the *Century*, is a serious burthen on American art. But what is funnier than Mr. Robinson's instance is the fact that when these blocks are stereotyped in Paris, the stereotype-blocks go free of duty through the American custom-houses. The ass who framed this decision that wood-engraving is not art, based it, apparently, on the classification in the tariff, and could find no other description of the blocks which came within his comprehension than that of "carved wood," and probably prided himself on his acumen. Now the correct title of these articles, if they are to be categoried in industrial terms, is not carved wood, but engraved wood. It is not to be expected that a customs authority in the United States should know enough about art to know that the blocks by Cole are noble works of art, but he might have known better than to classify them as "carved wood."

Mr. Cole has been for some time engaged on a series of blocks which he intends to publish by subscription, each block being as large as four of those of the *Century*, and, as "carved wood," worth four times as much, and Mr. Cole would have to pay $300 each to pass them through the custom-house. He therefore has them stereotyped in Paris and will send the plates over to America to be printed from, for, curiously enough, there are no printers in Paris who can print these blocks properly. As the impressions from the stereotype blocks are never quite as good as those from the originals, and the latter will never give equally good proofs after the stereotyping as before it, we are obliged to see a most important artistic interest suffer, with no gain to any other, high or low, because our Treasury Department was unable to comprehend that a work by a wood-engraver is a work of art. Having laid the prohibitive duty on the work of the American artist, we allow that of the French stereotyper to pass free of duty. Many Americans pride themselves on the "sound common sense" in the management of our public affairs, but, as a matter of fact, it violates common sense more than all the monarchies of Europe combined. Our tariff alone may challenge the official doings of the civilized world to show such an accumulation of absurdities.—Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

ROME, December 23, 1897.

Notes.

Coinciding with the recent tendency of literary study in France, and to a less extent in Germany, to make much of the literary "species" and its development, is the plan of a series of "Representative English Comedies," announced by Macmillan for publication during the coming year, of which Prof. C. M. Gayley of the University of California is general editor, and Professors Dowden, A. W. Ward, Herford, J. W. Hales, Flügel, G. P. Baker, Gummere, Woodberry, Matthews, G. R. Carpenter, Beers, and Messrs. Pollard, Henry Bradley, A. H. Bullen, Gollancz, Sidney Lee, and others, editors of individual comedies and contributors of monographs tracing the growth of English Comedy in its several periods and parts from the Miracle Plays to Sheridan. Some forty plays in five volumes are promised, with occasional issue of the more important and popular plays in separate form. The plan, in fact, contemplates a complete history of English Comedy written by specialists, with the unusual and added advantage of presenting with the text of the history complete and annotated illustrations of the more important masterpieces discussed, rather than the unsatisfactory and broken excerpts possible in most literary histories. In these days of the servitude of the English comic stage to German and French originals and models, we have pretty well forgotten that at one time English Comedy was a very vigorous growth and ranked scarcely second to any—surely first of all, if Shakspere be thrown in to tip the scales.

It is interesting to notice the names selected by the editor in his "Announcement" of those whom he considers the most important writers of English comedy (not all of whom, however, will be represented by illustrations among these reprints). In the sixteenth century these are John Heywood, Udall, Gascoigne, the author of "Gammer Gurton's Needle," Lyly, Peele, Greene, Henry Porter, and Shakspere. Specimens of the comic elements in the Miracle Plays, in the Moralities, and in other transition dramas of the period the editor hopes to present at some later time in a preliminary volume, if the series receive sufficient encouragement. Following these appear the names of Ben Jonson, Chettle, Dekker, Chapman, Middleton, Richard Brome, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shirley, Thomas Heywood, Massinger, Cowley, Wilson, Howard, Villiers and "The Rehearsal," Dryden, Wycherley, Etherege, Crowne, Congreve, Cibber, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Mrs. Centlivre, Addison, Steele, Gay, Hoadley, Moore, Townley, Murphy, Whitehead, Kelly, Foote, Colman, Macklin, Cumberland, Goldsmith, and Sheridan—a catholic list of names, but presenting enough of important position to justify the presentation in so elaborate a form of the literary kind chosen. The names of the editors and contributors are a guarantee of thorough and discriminating workmanship in the execution of the plan.

During the present month D. Appleton & Co. will bring out 'Various Fragments,' by Herbert Spencer; 'Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology,' by Prof. E. P. Evans; 'The Psychology of Suggestion,' by Boris Sidis; 'The Story of Animal Life in the Sea,' illustrated by L. J. Hickson; 'Anatomy,' in the "Concise Knowledge Library"; 'Modern English Literature,' by Edmund Gosse; 'Bimetallism,' by Major Leonard Darwin; 'H. R. H. the Prince of Wales,' a biography; and 'Crusoe's Island,' a bird-hunter's story, by Frederick A. Ober.

Mr. Higginson's 'Cheerful Yesterdays' will graduate from the *Atlantic Monthly* into book form in the spring, with the imprint of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Lamson, Wolffe & Co., Boston, have in press a 'History of the Lowell Institute,' by Mrs. Harriet Knight Smith, which has been closely preceded by a History of the Smithsonian Institution.

Ginn & Co. announce a 'Guide to the Study of Fiction,' for class-room purposes, by Charity Dye, teacher of English in the Indianapolis High School.

'Hampton,' by the Rev. Edward E. Hale, a book with an economic aspect, will be issued by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Fords, Howard & Hulbert will publish 'The New Puritanism,' a series of papers presented during the semi-centennial celebration of Plymouth Church (1847-1897).

Mr. Temple Scott's 'Book Sales of 1897' (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan) makes a prompt appearance as a result of a change of plan, by which the calendar year is abandoned for the "seasonal." Hereafter this record will run from November 1 to July 31. Another novelty is the inclusion of select American sales, viz., the Sewall, Frederickson, and Bierstadt. Mr. Scott remarks on the continued interest in Americana in England, on the slight falling off in Cruikshankiana, and the diminishing favor accorded to Bewick's works. The Kelmscott Press publications, justly described by Mr. Scott as "not book-readers' books," at present "are being treated as fairly common bric-à-brac." The sale of the first portion of the library of the Earl of Ashburnham was the great feature of the year, realizing in eight days $150,000. American commissions contributed to make "the prices paid for 'lots' twenty per cent. above market values," in Mr. Scott's estimation. A 'Biblia Pauperum' of forty leaves fetched £1,050. The several sales are catalogued apart, with a continuous numbering, and a general index furnishes a key and shows whether it is worth while to apply it. The book is beautifully printed.

Having already reviewed Mr. F. M. Chapman's 'Bird Life' at some length, it remains to notice the new edition which appeared a few weeks ago. The text is the same as that of both the previous issues, but the book in its new dress is much larger, handsomer, and more expensive, with heavier paper, wider margins, and colored plates. Photographic bromide enlargements of Mr. Thompson's original black-and-white drawings have been made, and these copies have been colored from life under the author's supervision. The mechanical reproductions of these by a lithographic process would seem to insure absolute accuracy; but, unfortunately, several of the plates as printed have turned out far from proof, and should be remade in time for the next binding of a batch of copies, which will no doubt be soon required. The latest embellishments of 'Bird Life' do not modify our judgment that Mr. Chapman's 'Hand-Book' is much the better one of the two, having been written with care, and not made to order; but each has its admirers, and both are prosperous, useful books (Appletons).

'Idle Hours in a Library' is the title given by the author, Prof. W. H. Hudson of Stanford University (San Francisco: William Doxey), to a volume of readable popular essays on literary topics, otherwise unrelated, such as it is the modern fashion to bind up together in book form. The subjects treated are 'London Life in Shakspere's Time' (lucid, easy, and picturesque), 'Pepys and his Diary' (a subject somewhat worn, but always offering good material for the essayist), 'Two Novelists of the English Restoration' (Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Behn), and 'A Glimpse of Bohemia' (on Henri Mürger). These sketches make no pretence at originality, being written in the lightest

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essay frame of mind, and therefore require no serious consideration. The style has the merit of being easy and interesting, and well suited to the subjects chosen.

One seldom encounters a stronger contrast between an author's prefatory remarks and the body of his work than in 'Lilliput Lectures,' by W. B. Rands, reissued after a quarter of a century under the editorial care of R. Brimley Johnson (London: James Bowden; New York: M. F. Mansfield). Mr. Rands's introduction (which shows him to have been a Sunday-school teacher) abounds in sense, and can hardly fail to raise expectations regarding the religious talk which follows. But great is the disappointment. There is no more evidence in these vague, rambling, abrupt chapters on the World, the Sky, Cities, Science and Philosophy, Art and Artists, etc., of fitness to address the infant mind than there is of poetic talent in the original verse, which uniformly ends the discourse, and which almost seems to have been the motive for publication.

In a country where education is so eminently a concern of the whole people as in ours, the reports of the Commissioner of Education ought to attract a good deal of attention. The recent appearance of the Report for the year 1895-'96 calls to mind the unanimous and vigorous protest, about a year ago, of the Michigan State Teachers' Association against certain animadversions on these reports in a leading Western daily. In fact, it is hard to conceive of a teacher or school officer worthy of his name that fails to appreciate the value to himself of these public documents. The present issue combines, as usual, much statistical matter with historical information and discussions of new tendencies and current questions, not chosen at random, as might seem to be the case to the uninitiated, but printed for some good reason and with a purpose. We find again chapters on early education in some of the States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Southern States); and as the last Report contained critical discussions of American schools by some eminent Germans, so we have this time the views of that well-known French authority, M. Compayré. From among several articles relating to foreign lands we can mention only the one on the English Education bill of 1896, and a first presentation of the state of education in Iceland. This notice of a compilation of more than 2,000 pages should not pass over in silence, however, the Commissioner's own brief estimate of the labors of Horace Mann (at the end of vol. i.), followed by a bibliography prepared by the son of the latter.

A woman, Mlle. Pellechet, has been charged with the difficult task of editing the lists of incunabula owned by 196 French public libraries, drawn up (in divers modes) at the request, in 1886, of the Minister of Public Instruction. The first volume (*A—Biblia Italica*) has lately appeared (Paris: Picard), and redounds to the credit, already well established in the same line, of Mlle. Pellechet, who has handled almost all the books described with the greatest exactitude. The arrangement is chronological where possible, and when a date is wanting, an arbitrary ordering by the number of lines to a page is adopted. The final volume will contain index and preface. In each case, of course, the library possessing a given volume is indicated.

The *Bibliographische Blätter*, which was published quarterly in 1895 and bi-monthly in 1896, has undergone a transfer and transformation into the annual 'Bibliographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog' (Berlin: Georg Reimer). At the head of the editorial staff is F. von Bezold, associated on the *Blätter* with the late Michael Bernays. The first volume, embracing the German dead of 1896, is a large octavo of more than 500 pages, divided into three parts: (1) biographical essays or documents not restricted to the past year, as, the autobiographic fragments from the pen of Ludwig Richter (edited by A. Michaelis), or the reminiscences of Bodenstedt, by C. von Lützow, together with select obituaries (Clara Schumann, M. Bernays, H. Bürkner); (2) a bibliography of biographical literature, with author entries but alphabetical arrangement by subjects; (3) the necrology for 1896, but (a wise reserve) with postponement of such notices as could not yet be adequately written for want of data. The arrangement is not strictly alphabetical, but the index repairs that defect, and, while it fails to indicate that Clara Schumann is twice commemorated, it includes the postponed names. When we add that there are five photogravure portraits of Treitschke and Du Bois-Reymond, we have described the scheme of this solid and valuable work. How much one like it in English might have lightened the labors of the editors of the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

Students of German literature and lovers of the Suabian school of poetry will be interested in 'Uhland's Tagebuch,' edited by J. Hartmann from a posthumous manuscript now in possession of the Schwäbischer Schillerverein, and just published by Cotta in Stuttgart. The laconic diary begins with the latter part of Uhland's student life at Tübingen in 1810, when he took the degree of LL.D., and ends with his marriage in 1820. It covers, therefore, the period of his sojourn in Paris for the purpose of studying the manuscript works of the old French and old German poets, his early career as a lawyer, at first in the ministry of justice and afterwards as an advocate in Stuttgart, his patriotic opposition to the attempt of the King of Würtemberg to introduce a new constitution abridging the rights of the people, and his political activity and efficiency as a member of the Diet. Only fragments of this diary have been hitherto accessible to Uhland's biographers, and its publication in full, so far as it has been preserved, enables the reader to follow the course of his mental and poetical development continuously during the formative period of his life.

The Munich publisher Oldenburg has just issued an exhaustive work on "Politische Geographie,' by Dr. Friedrich Ratzel, Professor of Geography in the University of Leipzig. It is an octavo volume of 733 pages with 33 illustrations in the text, and treats of what the author calls "biogeography," by which he means the configuration and constitution of the earth's surface in their influence upon the evolution and organization of human life, and more especially the relations of the soil to the state. Among the topics discussed are possession and sovereignty, migration, conquest, and colonization, the fundamental laws determining the growth of states, the political effects of extended and limited domain, natural and artificial boundaries, insular, peninsular, and continental empires, the sea and maritime nations, mountains, plains, lakes, and rivers as elements in determining the character of the body politic.

An important geological work has been undertaken in Paris in the translation of Suess's 'Das Antlitz der Erde,' under the direction of E. de Margerie, who has, with his collaborators, extended the original in a most scholarly manner by the addition of notes and references on relevant topics that have been published since the appearance of the original work. The first volume is now issued with the title, 'La Face de la Terre' (Paris: A. Colin & Cie.), with seventy-six figures especially prepared for the French translation, in addition to the original series, and two colored maps. Prof. Marcel Bertrand of the École des Mines contributes an excellent preface. This volume contains two of the four parts into which the work is divided—movements of the crust, and mountain chains. The changes of the sea and the face of the earth will be treated in a second volume. The most characteristic part of the present work concerns mountain chains, in which Suess discovers a prevailing asymmetry; an exterior side, towards which the range has been driven, characterized by long folds, and an interior side, where faulting prevails. In Europe, the exterior side of the chains is on the north; in Asia, on the south. The advanced student of geology will find this work well repaying his perusal.

H. Aschehoug & Co. of Christiania have just brought out the first 'Hefte' of an account of the voyage of the *Fram* by one of Nausen's followers, Hjalmar Johansen. It is entitled 'Selv-Anden pa 86 14' (Number Two at 86 14), and it is said to give promise of an interest hardly inferior to that of 'Farthest North.' Special attention is paid to the sledge trip, and many events on the *Fram* not touched on by the leader are described. There is a large number of illustrations.

One of the best deliverances on the teaching of living languages is to be found in George Ticknor's address before the American Institute of Instruction in the year 1832. The ideas there expressed are in the main the same as those now held by the great majority of judicious teachers, and there is no prospect, near or remote, of a general revolution in favor of any of the numerous "new" methods, one of which, that of Gouin, is so favorably discussed in the *Educational Review* for January. It is the same method advertised with much ado about five years ago by the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, and since then improved by Messrs. Swan and Bétis. It will not be found superior to other more common methods, provided these are used with more judgment than M. Gouin brought to the study of German before he invented his own method.

In the latest issue of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission, treating of the Foljambe MSS., a long letter from Priestley to Sir George Savile, dated October 28, 1775, is printed. The letter is of interest for the character drawn of Shelburne. "He is by no means that artful, ambitious politician that he has been represented. . . . He is not without that prudence and circumspection that becomes his situation, but he has no deep political secrets." His wish was to abridge the power of the Crown, and make proper examples of the "present wretched administration." "With respect

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to America, I cannot help thinking that the people of that country would have more confidence in Lord Shelburne, provided there should ever be an opening to treat with them (which, however, for my own part, I despair of), than in Lord Rockingham, whose *declaratory act* will never go down with them." In a later letter (1780) Lord Rockingham attributes Burke's defeat at Bristol to the American war, which had "too deeply affected the wealth of the merchants, who so honorably and at such a large expense had supported and carried his former election." Savile in 1782 lays stress upon the expediency of obtaining a weighty vote on Conway's motion, condemning the war, from the country members—the "purest part of the representation." He thought it would impress the King by pitting corruption against incorruption, and giving the sense of a "pure House of Commons" for his guidance.

A slight but important typographical error disguised the name of the writer of the communication on "South Carolina Precedents for New Jersey" in our issue for December 30, Mr. Edward McCrady of Charleston.

—In his annual report to the President of Harvard University, Prof. Pickering, Director of the Observatory, presents some of the greatest needs of astronomy at Cambridge—among them, new buildings to replace the old ones of wood; a modern machine-shop, and a library building where clerical work can be performed. While the Observatory has abundant income to employ assistants (twenty-one men and nineteen women are in its constant service), more principal is needed, not for investment, but for material equipment. The important work of the meridian photometer is now approaching completion, so far as northern stars are concerned. That of the Henry Draper Memorial continues a splendid record both at Cambridge and in Peru; and owing to the great number of photographic exposures every clear night, mere developing had become a laborious task until an apparatus was constructed by which twelve plates may be subjected to this process at once. The Boyden work in Peru is also progressing finely, and, in addition, meteorological observations are made at seven stations, varying in altitude from 100 feet above sea-level to 19,200 on El Misti. The great Bruce photographic telescope at Arequipa is performing most satisfactorily, experiment showing it perfectly capable of the power of registration claimed for it. Nearly 700 photographs are its work for the year, a few of which were taken with the prism additional. An interesting result has been reached from a study of two of these plates showing spectra of stars in the famous Magellanic Cloud; Mrs. Fleming having discovered six stars with spectra of the fifth type, which, as the only stars of this class so far from the Milky Way, may furnish another important clue to mysteries of constitution in the Magellanic Cloud. Meteorological work at Blue Hill Observatory continues, as formerly, in conjunction with Mr. Rotch; also the telegraphic distribution of important astronomical discoveries. Eight circulars printed during the year have brought new announcements promptly to scientific notice. Vols. i. to xxxvi. of the Annals of the Observatory are now practically complete, and succeeding volumes to xlii. are already well advanced.

—The death of Gardiner G. Hubbard of Washington gives occasion for recalling the admirable service which he, with his son-in-law, Prof. A. Graham Bell, rendered in founding a journal of science. It could be made a reproach to this country, in 1883, that there existed no scientific newspaper, and that men devoted to the interests of different sciences had no medium of intercommunication nearer than London. Moved by that consideration, these gentlemen, in the year named, and during many subsequent years, expended some $80,000 in the foundation and support of *Science*. As Prof. Newcomb said, in the few words with which he introduced the New Series of that journal: "Great success in advancing scientific knowledge cannot be expected, even from the most gifted men, so long as they remain isolated; the attrition of like minds is almost as necessary to intellectual production as companionship to conversation." While, within the range of each science, there are now scientific journals of an adequate nature, it is none the less indispensable that there should be a common clearing-house where the different sciences may be brought within range of each other. It is to be hoped that *Science*, in its present form, under the charge of its self-sacrificing and efficient editors, may have in full measure the success which it deserves. There could be no better way of expressing gratitude for the generosity with which it was founded than by assuring its present prosperity.

—Part xii. of Dr. Reginald Lane Poole's 'Historical Atlas of Modern Europe' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde) completed the first year's issues of Mr. Poole's monumental work so long delayed by the magnitude of the task and the difficulties of publication. From this instalment of the thirty parts promised it is possible to estimate the scope and value of the work. Of its value there can be no doubt. It has had but one predecessor with which it can be fairly compared, namely, Spruner-Menke. Poole's work covers in time and space much the same ground as Spruner-Menke, and is, in fact, avowedly modelled upon that atlas, 'being indebted to it for general plan and for many details. From the point of view of mechanical execution it is certainly a great improvement on it. The maps are rather smaller, but in general much clearer, the size and style of the lettering, and in particular the coloring, being a great advance on the Spruner-Menke, while the doing away with coast-line shading permits definition impossible under the old system. The historical sketches accompanying each map are concise but very full, and much superior to the brief notices in Spruner, or even the more elaborate text of Droysen. It is to be hoped that the pages of the completed volume may be numbered like those of any other book, and especially that there may be a complete index of place names. The German maps of Poole are as yet neither so numerous nor so detailed as those of the German atlases, naturally enough. On the other hand, the maps of the British Isles will supply a very real and long-felt want. Of those which have already appeared, the two maps of Anglia Sacra, the ecclesiastical divisions of England *temp.* Edward I., and Anglia Monastica *temp.* Henry VIII., the admirable map of parliamentary boroughs to 1832, by Mr. Prothero, with dates of their establishment, decay, and revival, and the map of Great Britain under Edward I., are especially to be commended, while those of Roman Britain, Ireland prior to the Anglo-Norman occupation, Scotland in 1300, England and Wales under the house of Lancaster, and Ireland under the early Tudors, are extremely useful. This series is certainly unique, and in many respects the most valuable part of the new material in the atlas.

—The difference between the German and the English atlases on ground common to both can best be seen by a comparison of such maps as those of Europe in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. In each case Mr. Poole has based his general map on that of Menke, reducing the size, but greatly increasing the clearness and definition by the devices already mentioned. Menke's Merovingian Europe contains, in addition to the large map, nine smaller maps—four general, showing the changes at the partitions of 511, 561, 587, and 625, and five special local maps. These latter Mr. Poole omits, and reduces the size of the former very considerably; but, by ingenious use of color and omission of place names, which really have no business in such maps, he manages to convey the state of affairs much more clearly than is done in the more elaborate but confused maps of his model. We must also mention the series of eight maps of Europe, 395-720, by Prof. Bury, the new Gibbon editor; the Italian maps of Miss Ewart, the French maps of Mr. Rhodes, together with that of the Spanish kingdoms by the late Mr. Ulick Burke, and of the Swiss Confederation by the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge, this last including the passes in use in the Middle Ages—a particularly useful piece of work. It is to be regretted that the price for this atlas (3*s.* 6*d.* for each part) is so great, and especially that so far the publishers have not seen fit to offer the maps for sale separately, as most other publishers do. This would be a very great convenience, both to those who desire particular maps for special work and to those who could thus supplement what they already possess.

—It would not be easy to find a more illuminating and instructive survey of its subject than the lectures of Mr. Platon E. Drakoules entitled 'Neohellenic Language and Literature' (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell). They were recently delivered at Oxford, and are an admirably condensed sketch of the development of the modern Greek language and literature, embraced in a pamphlet of seventy pages. It may be read with profit by any one who has the least tincture of Greek, and it will leave such a reader with clearer views than are imparted in many a larger and more formal treatise. It is characterized by exact and sound learning, great moderation of tone, and a general view of the mission of the modern Greek which commends itself by its wisdom and sobriety. There are many such Greeks as Drakoules and Bikélas, and there is strong hope that their wisdom will leaven a people which has some of the vices bred of recent centuries of slavery, some of the faults and foibles of children, and many virtues that might be commended to their older brethren among the nations. The fatal Jingoism which they have lately shown was at least on behalf of their own oppressed kindred; and as to the causes of this error, Mr. Drakoules has a paragraph so wise and right-minded that it sums up the whole situation: "Thus it is that Greece, in-

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stead of moral leaders, has politicians, who can teach her no good thing, and at the hands of whom industrious, hard-working, frugal, heavily taxed, and wofully neglected Greece is periodically led astray, merely in order to afford them the satisfaction of calling themselves her rulers—rulers who never really cared much for education, and never did anything for moral instruction and manly training—who, while it was in their power to regenerate their country by encouraging the development of the nobler part of Hellenic nature, wasted her resources in insincere military preparations. It is from this body of men that Greece deserves to be saved, in order to be enlightened and show that she is an influence for good in the Levant." This little book answers many questions which are naturally put by the intelligent inquirer. It is most interesting as showing the substantial continuity of the language, and its growth through the centuries, since Homer. It sketches also the conscious development of a modern literature and literary language, produced by the new national consciousness and freedom so lately won. The author is unusually well acquainted with English culture and literature, and the results of his knowledge are manifest in his style and illustrations.

STILLMAN'S ESSAYS.

The Old Rome and the New, and Other Studies. By W. J. Stillman. London: Grant Richards; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1897.

According to the author, this volume is to be taken as containing the serious literary production of a lifetime. In his preface he says: "I had the good fortune to learn soon that the opinions of young men are rarely worth preserving, . . . and I then decided that I would publish nothing before I should be forty; when I was forty I postponed to fifty; at fifty I said, Sixty is not too late; and at sixty I had still too much to learn, and I would trust to seventy." Some things he has had to put forth for bread-winning, and some, like the History of the Cretan Insurrection, from a sense of duty; but now he has for the first time willingly gathered together something of the much he has written, has revised and reconsidered it, and is "prepared to stand or fall in the opinion of his critics by what is printed."

The ten papers he has selected for perpetuation are somewhat miscellaneous in nature and subject. Three of them, "John Ruskin," "The Decay of Art," and "The Revival of Art," deal with questions of art criticism, and it is with Mr. Stillman as a critic of art and with his views and principles as an art critic that we shall concern ourselves in this review. In the paper on Ruskin he combats that writer's theories; in that on the Decay of Art he tells us why, in his opinion, art has decayed, and in that on the Revival of Art on what terms, if at all, it may be revived. His doctrine is the antipode of that of Ruskin, and may be called the extremest form of idealism.

As a young man Mr. Stillman was deeply influenced by Ruskin, as were most intelligent young men in the English-speaking world of that epoch, and he began the practice of art on pre-Raphaelite principles. He long tried to produce an artistic impression by the literal and exact copying of nature in its details; and, failing, as failure was inevitable, he has been carried in theory—for he has long since ceased from the practice of art—to the opposite pole of opinion. He seems to have come to believe that all study of nature is destructive of art—that "Nature has in every case killed art," and "the nearer to nature the farther from art." True art, for him, is purely subjective, "done out of the head," and the true artist is one, like Fuseli, whom "nature puts out." In his 'Old Italian Masters' he tried to show that art declined exactly in proportion as the study of nature increased, and seemed to exalt the least of the Giotteschi above the great masters of the high Renaissance, certainly denying to Lionardo any very great rank because of his naturalistic theories and scientific temper. In the present work we find him justifying Turner's wildest contraventions of natural laws while pointing them out as disproof of Ruskin's doctrines, saying that Turner "attained the highest expression of subjective art of his time—possibly of all time," and that he does not yield to Ruskin in admiration of the "Slave Ship," though "the whole picture is a flagrant falsehood," with an "utterly impossible sky" and an "utterly impossible sea."

Is it, then, possible that artists have always been entirely wrong; that their tireless efforts for self-improvement, for mastery of natural forms and colors, for the investigation of natural appearances, have been utterly wasted and worse than wasted? Is it possible that art would have been the better if perspective had never been discovered nor anatomy studied, and that it is enough to compose, and we have no need to draw or to paint? Of course Mr. Stillman does not really think this himself; and yet his theories, logically carried out, would bring us to just this conclusion, and some of his statements seem almost to assert it. Ruskin's theory of the obligation of absolute record of natural fact is doctrine more dangerous because more plausible; Mr. Stillman's doctrine is only not dangerous because impossible of acceptance by any painter with a love of nature and a habit of work.

And yet Mr. Stillman's error springs from an unguarded and overstrained insistence upon the most important and fundamental of truths about art. He thrice gives us his definition of art, and, as far as it goes, it is an admirable one. It would be hard to state more clearly or concisely the true nature and function of all art than in his saying that "Art is the harmonic expression of human emotion." The one thing that binds all expressions of the art impulse together, the thing that *is* art, and which is fundamentally the same in all the arts, is harmony in some of its forms: order, rhythm, melody, proportion, and the like. But there is only one of the arts that is pure art. Music, and music alone, deals in these qualities of pure proportion and with nothing else. Architecture stands next to music in its independence of imitation, and perhaps is therefore called frozen music; but it is bound to construction and to utility, and its danger is degeneration into engineering. Poetry is bound to the direct expression of ideas in words—when it is too artistic it becomes melodious nonsense, and when it is not artistic enough it ceases to be poetry altogether. The dance, the drama, painting, and sculpture, are increasingly dependent upon imitation, and their special dangers are realism on the one side and neglect of nature on the other. A purely musical art of color and form, an art which should exactly conform to Mr. Stillman's definition, is indeed conceivable, but it would not be what we know as the art of painting. It would be pure decoration by means of lines and colors, with no reference to natural fact. Mr. Stillman conceives this to have been the earliest form of art, but it is doubtful if it ever really existed. The earliest attempts at art that we know are the attempts at representation of the cave-men, and the earliest known art of Egypt is not less but more realistic than that of later periods. The latest investigations tend to show that all the "geometric" designs of savages had originally some basis of representation. The truth seems to be that the art impulse—the love of harmony—has moulded the material of art into various and strange shapes; but that material has always been the representation of observed natural facts.

The only question, then, in the arts of painting and sculpture is as to what is the proper balance of the two great elements that make them up—the decorative, or strictly artistic, and the representative, or naturalistic element. This balance varies constantly with the purpose of the work of art. In the lower forms of ornamentation very little representation is allowable, while in the higher forms of decorative art a great deal may be introduced, and in the independent picture or statue there is no limit to the amount of naturalism that may be introduced, except the limit of the artist's skill in realization, and of his power to mould what he introduces into the harmonies required by art. If nature "puts him out," he is quite right to abandon the study of nature, but the fact that he is obliged to do so is a measure of his weakness. The greatest men have been those who have been able to put the most nature into the service of the highest art. Mere representation is no more art than mere sense is poetry, but the highest art can no more exist without nature-study than can poetry without sense. The nonsense picture exists as well as the nonsense verse, and Turner, for instance, came sometimes perilously near it.

It is worth observing, also, that what is ordinarily meant by "idealism"—the choice of noble and beautiful types, and the elimination of ugly or even trivial and unnecessary detail—is, after all, a matter pertaining to the subject-matter and material of art, to its representative side, and not at all to its purely artistic side; so that it does not at all follow from Mr. Stillman's definition of art, even accepted as final, that the painter should be an idealist in this sense. The art of Raphael is in the arrangement of his lines and spaces, in the "harmonic expression of his emotions," and might exist without the beauty of his personages, just as that of Rembrandt exists without regard to the ugliness of his. No greater harmonist, no greater artist, than Rembrandt ever lived, and none who more determinedly moulded nature into the forms that would express his own feeling; yet he was strangely tolerant of ugliness, and would paint the deformed body of a fat housemaid with painful veracity. He was a great poet of light and shade, and his light and shade is artistic and not natural, but his conception of form is not above that of the most grovelling of realists. It is not the choice of material for representation that marks the realist, but the absence of art in the

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manner of treatment; or, rather, realist and idealist in the matter of choice may be equally artistic or equally inartistic in the matter of treatment, and a still-life painter may be, after his degree, as true an artist as Michelangelo—witness Chardin. If he composes with light and color, what matter if the light falls on a jug instead of on a woman's head? Yet Mr. Stillman's confusion of the doctrine of harmonic expression with that of "idealism" leads him to refuse to consider the still-life painter as conceivably a true artist, and to think of mere imitation as the end of still-life painting, just as it leads to his failure to perceive that "mere brush work" is not necessarily only a show of dexterity, and may have a kind of harmonic value and an artistic purpose.

Indeed, we should cease talking of realists and idealists and talk of workmen and artists. Pure art has never existed, and neither has pure imitation. All the art that has ever existed has a mixture of the two elements in varying proportions, and in the greatest art the amount of imitative truth which is fused with artistic imagination is amazing. We quite agree with Mr. Stillman in thinking that the danger of our modern painting is in its over-emphasis on realization at the expense of art, though there are not wanting signs of reaction, and we have lately had pure decoration pushed to the verge of nonsense in some of the results of the poster fad. Let us by all means preach that imitation is not art, but let us not imagine that art will be helped by ignorance. We have not studied nature too much, we have not studied it nearly enough, and we have substituted a superficial imitation for a profound knowledge. It will not revive art to shut the schools, though it is to be hoped that the schools will give better instruction than they do now. Even Mr. Watts, whom Mr. Stillman cites as "the profoundest thinker on art with whose opinions" he is conversant, idealist though he is, is obliged to enter his caveat against the extreme form which Mr. Stillman's opinions seem to take. In a note which he has written, and which Mr. Stillman prints, while accepting the general tenor of Mr. Stillman's article, he says: "When Wordsworth wrote the 'Intimations of Immortality' he never had to think of his grammar or his spelling. Such a necessity must have crippled his utterances. . . . A very considerable knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the structure of the human frame is absolutely necessary. . . . There should be no hesitation for want of knowledge; and the more elevated the intention, the more necessary that there should be no obvious violations of grammar in art." He then tells his own method of study, by occasional reference to the model to refresh his knowledge, and concludes: "I consider the painting from the model in a set position a pernicious practice, but the study of nature is another thing and cannot be dispensed with."

Mr. Stillman professes the conviction that these views "are in no wise in conflict with those I have tried to expound," and we must therefore assume that he is not really as radical in his opinions as he often seems from his utterances. Mr. Watts's opinion that the study of nature is indispensable, and that "there should be no violations of grammar in art," certainly sounds different from the praise of Turner's violation of all natural law and the implied condemnation of those moderns who are "afraid to be out of drawing." But even if Mr. Stillman is prepared to accept a good deal of study of nature in practice, his theory calls for none, and a thousand things in these essays show that he considers the innovation of the first painters who made drawings from nature for their work as of doubtful propriety, and that he thinks Fra Angelico almost the last painter who was altogether right in his practice. All he could logically admit is, that art was not yet ruined by the incursion of nature study until the time of the immediate successors of Michelangelo and Titian, though it had long been in a bad way. Probably he is *not* logical, but his theory is, we think, fundamentally incomplete. For want of considering the nature of painting and sculpture as mixed and not pure arts, he formulates a doctrine which would lead, if there were any danger of its being carried out, to the total abolition of painting and sculpture, and yet he does it in the name of a conception of the nature of art which is a thoroughly right one. He is on the right side, on the side of art against mere fact, on the side of the artist against Ruskin; but his conclusions are so extreme that there is danger of his convincing his readers of the falsity of his general position. In the name of the cause which we believe in as heartily as he does, it is necessary to show what we conceive to be his error.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1653.—II.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. Vol. II. 1651-1654. Longmans, Green & Co. 1897. 8vo, xxii and 503 pp.

Why did the labors of the constitution-makers of 1653 produce no permanent result? Why is the Instrument of Government forgotten even by historians, and quite unknown to the mass of the English people?

The answer to these questions lies in one sense on the surface of history. The Puritans were at best a minority of the nation; the men who wished to establish a commonwealth of any kind were a minority among the Puritans, and the authors of the Constitution of 1653 were a minority among the supporters of a Commonwealth. They were founding a Republic almost without Republicans, and, by one of those strange strokes of irony with which history abounds, the practical statesmen of the Protectorate were hated by the only faction which really desired a Republic. The Instrument of Government, which ultimately owed its existence to the *coup d'état* by which Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, was at least as hateful to the Commonwealth's men as to the adherents of the ancient monarchy. Nor can we suppose that the enthusiasts who expected the renovation of the country from the nominated Parliament could look with genuine approval on the act of statecraft by which the representatives of the most energetic among the revolutionists were induced to surrender their authority into the hands of Cromwell.

The truth appears to be, that while the men who might reasonably have supported the Constitution of 1653 were alarmed, not without cause, at the immense powers conferred upon the Protector and the possibility of a military despotism, the great body of the people were disappointed at discovering that Cromwell would neither restore the monarchy nor himself take the place of an English king. Students of history may probably be of opinion, though this (we must add) is not the conclusion towards which Mr. Gardiner inclines, that Cromwell pretty well understood the wishes of the nation, and would, had his life lasted, have ultimately assumed the crown. It is at any rate clear that every political change during the Protectorate tended towards an approximation to the old monarchical system of government. However this may be, the fact is clear that the Constitution of 1653 could, from the first, command but a very limited amount of popular support.

If proof of this were wanting, it might be found in an event which immediately followed the death of Cromwell. The Parliament summoned by Richard was, indeed, a Parliament of the United Commonwealth, but it was elected—in England, at any rate—by the old Parliamentary constituencies. The reform of Parliament (to use modern expressions), which constitutes to modern critics one of the best features of the Instrument of Government, was quietly but of set purpose ignored. Nor should it be forgotten that the Constitution of 1653 was, even during the Protectorate, so profoundly modified that we can hardly say how far it ought to be considered as still existing at the death of Cromwell; and if it were necessary to find further general causes for the failure of the premature attempt to endow England with a more or less Republican Constitution, there is no difficulty in their discovery. It may be noted, for example, that the revolution in the Parliamentary institutions of England was practically unaccompanied by any corresponding change in the subordinate or the local institutions of the country. The law courts, the judges, the sheriffs, and the magistrates continued pretty much the same during the Protectorate that they had been when James or Charles was on the throne. Hence there was an utter incongruity between the system of the central government established in London and the scheme of administrative government which continued to exist throughout the country. Some practical steps may have been taken to keep authority as far as possible in the hands of men who favored the Protectorate; but the administrative business of the country was, in spite of large exclusions from electoral rights, intrusted to men who at best acquiesced in, if they were not absolutely hostile to, the new form of government.

To all this we must add one consideration of supreme importance. The Puritan constitutionalists, the men who in a certain sense accepted the Instrument of Government, showed just that want of statesmanship which in times of revolution renders abortive the action of the honest friends of freedom. Their object was presumably to preserve the advantages gained by the Civil War; the risk was obvious that all the fruits of the struggle might be lost by a reaction ending in a restoration. It is certain that Cromwell was no ordinary tyrant, and that he had no wish to rule without a Parliament. It was equally plain that there existed in the whole country no man qualified to take Oliver's place, and that he alone had the authority necessary for controlling the army and averting a military despotism. Under these circumstances every man who sin-

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cerely wished to maintain English freedom and to avert the restoration of the Stuarts, ought, one would naturally think, to have stood by the Protector and have supported him in his efforts to found a government which should insure to the country at once the permanence of parliamentary institutions and a system of religious toleration; and the way to support the Protector was to accept loyally the Instrument of Government. But this is exactly what the Parliamentarians of the Commonwealth declined to do. They condemned the transactions which had given birth to the Constitution of 1653; they entertained a profound and a not unreasonable but a most unfortunate distrust of Cromwell. For the failure of the Constitution of 1653 a great share of our blame ought to rest upon Cromwell, but almost if not quite an equal share falls upon the Parliamentarians of the Commonwealth, whose policy can be traced with some certainty in the Constitutional Bill published by Mr. Gardiner in his 'Documents of the Puritan Revolution.'

But the very admission that the politicians who were prepared so far to accept the Instrument of Government as to take in hand its amendment and leave the Protectorate in the hands of Cromwell, could not see their way to accept unaltered the Constitution of 1653, of itself suggests the inquiry, What was it in the character of the Instrument which made it unacceptable to men who were not reactionists, and who were willing to attempt at any rate the formation of a free Commonwealth with Cromwell for Protector?

The answer to this question is worth giving, and in effect supplies part of the reply to the inquiry with which this article commences. The immediate cause of the breach between Cromwell and the Parliamentarians who drafted the Constitutional Bill was apparently the desire on their part to prevent the establishment of a large standing army. But though the Parliamentarians may not themselves have fully realized the true reasons of their instinctive opposition to the Instrument of Government, critics who scan the subsequent course of English history ought to recognize the fact that the Constitution of 1653, with all its merits—and they were very great—was not in any true sense an anticipation of parliamentary government as it has been ultimately developed in England. By a singular fatality the Puritans, in their constitutional ideas as in many other things, "missed their mark," to use an expression of J. R. Green's. The constitution-makers of 1653 formed a polity which might have suited other countries, but which was not the kind of polity that was ultimately found to suit the English people. The fundamental differences between the constitutionalism of 1653 and the constitutionalism which owes its existence to the Revolution of 1688, are marked, though they have hardly received sufficient notice.

The idea which underlies the whole Instrument of Government is the desirability of combining a powerful executive with a purely legislative Parliament. The Council, as already pointed out, was intended to be as powerful a body as was compatible with the coexistence of a real legislature and the preservation of that personal freedom, secured by the supremacy of law, which has been the ideal of all English patriots. One cannot insist too much upon the consideration that the Council was not, and was not intended to be, anything like a modern cabinet. It was to be a body depending upon resources of its own. It occupied under the Constitution a position coördinate with the Legislature; it was a permanent body subject only to the most gradual change; it elected successive Protectors; it must, almost of necessity, have become the most powerful body in the state. It is likely that the authors of the Constitution thought they were doing little more than restoring and reinvigorating the Privy Council of the monarchy. It is also not unlikely that they may have been influenced by notions derived from the system existing in Holland; the United Provinces were, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the most successful of free States. Their institutions exerted over the reformers of other countries the sort of influence which, in the seventeenth century, was exercised by the Constitution of England, and during part of the nineteenth century by the Constitution of the United States. However this may be, government by a permanent, powerful, and almost self-electing Council is not a form of administration which has ever taken permanent root in England. Then, again, the Legislature was a law-making body, it was not a sovereign parliament; it was neither the creator nor the controller of the executive.

From one point of view, indeed, the statesmen of the Commonwealth anticipated ideas which have been developed in the United States. The relation under the Constitution of 1653 between the Council and the Parliament has some affinity to the relation between the President and Congress. Yet this parallel must not be pressed too far. The likeness lies in the President being an authority coördinate with the Legislature, and in Congress being simply an organ of legislation. But the Presidency has none of the permanence of the Cromwellian Council: and the Senate, which has an element of relative permanence, does not appoint the head of the executive, and seats in the Senate are not filled up by coöptation. The true parallel to the system which the reformers of 1653 meant to found is to be discovered not in America, but in Germany. Modern German constitutionalists have, under the influence of Prussian ideas, created both in Prussia and in the Empire a polity in which an executive of all but overpowering authority is to a certain extent checked, though by no means balanced, by the rights of representative Assemblies which can make or repeal laws, but can neither appoint the Government nor control its action. The Cromwellian ideal, if we may assume that the Instrument of Government represented the constitutional notions of Cromwell and his immediate adherents, has been realized, not by Washington, but by Bismarck.

The reform, indeed, of Parliament seems at first sight to forestall the Reform Bill of 1832. Yet here, too, the essential difference is much greater than the superficial resemblance. The reformers of 1653 changed the centre of electoral power. The country was to become predominant over the towns, and the rule of the country would have meant the supremacy of the small independent landowners. The idea of basing the Constitution of England upon the support of what may popularly, though not quite accurately, be termed the yeomen and freeholders, possessed obvious recommendations and has fascinated many patriotic statesmen; but it was based on a wrong forecast of the development of English society. It was hardly compatible with the authority of the great landowners and of the wealthy merchants which saved the freedom and developed the power of England during the eighteenth century. It in no way met the unexpected growth of manufacturing industries in the north of England, which at bottom necessitated the reform of 1832.

In their conceptions of toleration, if anywhere, the constitutionalists of 1653 provided for the needs of the coming time. Cromwell, at any rate, and (we may assume) many others besides Cromwell, saw with more or less distinctness that freedom of conscience and liberty in matters of religion needed recognition, and that nothing short of wide toleration could give peace or prosperity to the state. Yet, though the Cromwellians must have the credit of having been, in the matter of religious liberty, in advance of their age, it is worth notice that, even in the matter of toleration, the Constitution of 1653 did not adopt anything like the method by which religious freedom, and in the long run the very fullest liberty of discussion, have been established in England. The Constitution, indeed, abolished every kind of penalty for non-conformity to the religious observances supported by the state; and whoever reflects upon all that was meant in the seventeenth century by this absolute prohibition of all active persecution must own that the Cromwellian statesmen made a step in advance on the road of progress and civilization which ought to insure to them everlasting respect. Let it further be noted that, in the matter of toleration, the Parliamentarians who wished to amend the Instrument fell far short of the liberal ideas entertained by Cromwell. Yet here again the statesmanship of 1653 failed to adopt the means which experience has shown were in fact best adapted for the securing of toleration. A passage in Macaulay's History sets forth the characteristics of the Toleration Act, and, in words too well known and too long for citation, insists that it "most strikingly illustrates the peculiar vices and the peculiar excellences of English legislation." The vices may be summed up in the statement that the Toleration Act does not lay down a single principle of toleration. The excellences may be broadly summarized by the statement that the Toleration Act, by a number of apparently petty enactments, whose meaning even a lawyer finds it difficult to master, made active intolerance or persecution all but impossible. By this policy of theoretical intolerance combined with practical toleration, the Whigs opened the era of perfect religious freedom. But this was not the policy of the statesmen of 1653. They laid down broad principles of toleration which were not wide enough to satisfy the principle of freedom, and yet alarmed moderate Englishmen by threatening to introduce an era of religious anarchy. The course of subsequent history does not make it possible to assert that the Puritan policy might not have succeeded, but we may say that it was exposed to every chance of failure. It irritated the Church of England, and seemed, at any rate, to deny freedom of worship to all Prelatists—that is, if we construe the term strictly, to believers in the creed which has permanently satisfied the mass of the English people; it alarmed moderate men, and at the same time threat-

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ened Freethinkers or Socinians with possible intolerance.

It is interesting to conjecture what would have been the result as regards religious freedom in England of the continued existence of the Constitution of 1653. Orthodox Protestants, including in that term any man whom we should now call a Low Churchman, would probably have enjoyed perfect religious freedom. Roman Catholics, High Churchmen, Quakers, Unitarians, Freethinkers—any class, in short, whose avowed creed deviated from the predominant orthodox Protestantism of the country—would, we may suppose, have held their right to the profession of their faith and the exercise of their religion by a precarious tenure. The great majority of the nation would, under these circumstances, have found nothing to complain of, but this very fact would have made the gradual extension of toleration, by which freedom of thought, worship, and discussion has been at last secured for the most unpopular of sects, all but an impossibility. Here, too, the statesmanship of Puritanism missed its mark.

The Story of Gladstone's Life. By Justin McCarthy. Macmillan. 1897.

The story of Gladstone's life is a more than twice-told tale. Within less than three years, at least two Lives of him have been noticed in these columns, and we know not how many more have escaped our attention. Undoubtedly several elaborate biographies are awaiting the inevitable hour, and, when it shall have arrived, there will be a deluge of Gladstonian literature which will probably exceed in volume and duration all previous obituary floods. Sooth to say, it is not altogether reasonable that some hundreds of thousands of readers whose lives have terminated or will terminate before Mr. Gladstone's should go unprovided with systematic information about his career merely because of its prodigious duration; and in Mr. McCarthy's case there is perhaps especial reason why he should not delay to offer a tribute which he is so well qualified to prepare.

It is not unworthy of attention that almost forty years ago Mr. Bagehot was moved to publish a critical estimate of Gladstone. He was writing, in the *National Review*, essays on several departed statesmen—Pitt, Bolingbroke, Brougham, and others—and he could not resist the temptation to characterize a living hero. He excuses himself by saying that *some* deliberate truth must be spoken of our statesmen; and as it is not to be expected of the newspapers that they should fulfil this function, it falls to the quarterly review. Of course Mr. Bagehot offered this explanation with a twinkle in his eye; his reason for writing was because the man interested him, and he begins his essay by calling Gladstone a problem. The problem fascinated him, and he offered a fascinating solution of it. Even now, although Bagehot wrote in 1860, we doubt if any more delicate appreciation, any more accurate analysis of Gladstone's nature and career, is in existence. We even doubt if any will be; for Mr. Bagehot's equal as a judge—a genuine connoisseur—of statesmanship is not to be found among us. He took as his text the exclamation of an old Whig who did not approve of Gladstone's budget of 1860, although he had to vote for it: "Ah, Oxford on the surface, *but* Liverpool below." With this text he discourses on the conflicting tendencies of scholastic and commercial life, and certainly suggests many plausible explanations of some of the contrarieties in Mr. Gladstone's course.

But we must not be tempted longer by Mr. Bagehot, although we advise whoever would understand Mr. Gladstone to read him. Mr. McCarthy's book is still before us, and deserves attention. It is beautifully printed and splendidly bound. It is adorned with many excellent reproductions of fine portraits. There are not a few of Mr. Gladstone at different ages, and indeed nearly every man of distinction whose name is mentioned in the text has his likeness presented to us. Mr. McCarthy is master of an easy and flowing style; it is pleasant to follow his narrative. His matter is well arranged, and he leads us through the events of sixty years with much skill. Like an experienced cicerone, he pauses at the right places, and tells us the particulars which tourists and sightseers are expected to memorize. He has himself been present on many of the occasions which he describes, and we have the benefit of his own direct observation. It need hardly be said that he is an ardent admirer of Gladstone. He might almost be called one of his intimate friends, and he has certainly been associated with him in Parliament for a generation. Such being the conditions, a writer of Mr. McCarthy's gifts could hardly fail to produce an interesting book. With such a subject even an inferior writer could not be altogether unsuccessful.

Yet the book will seem to many readers superficial. It will serve admirably to adorn a parlor table; even to give the "general reader" a fair idea of the course of public affairs in England during the last half-century, and of Gladstone's part in them. It does not fail to point out the changes that have taken place in the attitude of the great statesman, or to offer explanations of all these changes. But these explanations are not very satisfactory; they compare very unfavorably with Mr. Bagehot's acute observations. In fact, we have read in the newspapers nearly all that Mr. McCarthy has to say, and his writing is not much above the level of good newspaper description. When it comes to home rule for Ireland he is able to speak with special authority, and this is perhaps the most valuable and the most interesting part of his book. But on the whole we lay it down with a feeling of disappointment. The subject seems to demand special qualifications in him who attempts it; different abilities from those of Mr. McCarthy. It still awaits the hand of some consummate biographer, and should such a one appear, a great book will certainly enrich our English literature.

A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough. By B. A. Clough. Edward Arnold.

American women who studied at the elder Cambridge before the death of Miss Clough in 1895, received from the mere fact of her gracious old age a sense of historical perspective in connection with the movement for the higher education of women. That movement has been one of storm and stress; it has been carried on for the most part by the restless energy of youth; its disciples are trained to consider its accomplishment as nothing in comparison with what is left to do. In contrast with all this ferment, Miss Clough's personality arrested the attention by the impression it gave of actual attainment. Energy she had in plenty, but it was the patient energy of age. It was difficult to believe that her college did not rest on as ancient a foundation as its masculine neighbors, so strongly did she mark it with the air of permanence. Her niece, in preparing the present memoir, has told incidentally the story of the evolution of the women's college in England, and shown what good reason Miss Clough had for adorning her last years with the suavity of success.

Anne Jemima Clough was born in Liverpool in 1820. When she was two years old her father removed his family to Charleston, South Carolina, and did not bring them back to live in England till 1836. For the next sixteen years Anne's life was that of the ordinary middle-class young Englishwoman. The history of these years shows the leaven of her strong sense and generous heart working in the lump of a Philistine environment. She kept a *journal intime* during this period which would certainly not have "sent her papa to Uganda." She chronicles her success and failures in the teaching of children, which she early undertook, the vivid pleasure of walks and talks with her brother Arthur, her reprehensible tendency to wandering thoughts of love and marriage when she should have been at her 'Euclid,' and the timid mooting of such questions as "the necessity, or rather great benefit, of women finding work, and considering it a duty to do so, and also whether they are at liberty to choose their own paths in some cases (I mean single women) without reference to their families."

In 1852, after her father's death and Arthur Clough's removal to London had left Miss Clough with the sole charge of her mother, the two ladies resolved to make their home at Ambleside—the unsophisticated Ambleside, which as yet knew not the shrine-seeker. Here Miss Clough opened her school for the girls of the neighborhood, which defied pedagogic theory and won the loving adhesion and lasting gratitude of the scholars. In 1860 Mrs. Clough died, and Arthur Clough in 1861. Miss Clough's health suffered from the successive shocks; by the doctor's advice she gave up her school and home at Ambleside, and came out into the world and into contact with the new ideas which she was destined to assimilate and modify.

The history of the educational movement which culminated in the establishment of Girton and Newnham may be instructively compared with the course of events in this country. In England the primary object was the opening to women of the established universities; in this country it was the foundation of isolated colleges for women. The comparative weakness and unimportance of our colleges for men thirty-five years ago no doubt went far to rob of its audacity the notion of duplicating them for women. But it is noticeable that the notion has not flourished in communities dominated by powerful and well-established universities, and also, as has been recently said, that it has apparently been checked in this country by the growth of the university idea with its doctrine of centralization, for the three most recent American colleges for women are all of the affiliated type. In England there was no discussion of the a-priori fitness of women to profit by a sys-

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tem of training devised for men. On the contrary, they were favored by the popularizing impulse within the universities which sought to bring the soundest instruction within the reach of the humblest minds, of the workingman on the one hand and of the school-girl on the other. In the one case the impulse gave rise to university extension; in the other, as the girls responded more and more satisfactorily to academic requirements, to the colleges for women. Some of the best ability in Cambridge was given to the struggling cause. In the first list of lectures for women in Cambridge (in 1870) there were advertised courses in English history by Prof. Maurice, in English literature by Mr. Skeat, and in algebra and arithmetic by Prof. Cayley. Christ's College, which was the first to admit women to its lecture-rooms, was driven to do so by the fact that its undergraduates asked leave to attend a course on Macedonian history given by Prof. Jebb to the women students in a room hired for the purpose. The scene of the lectures was shifted to Christ's, and men and women were admitted on equal terms. Besides labor, many members of the university gave financial aid, Mr. Henry Sidgwick being a foremost benefactor in both kinds.

Miss Clough's part in all this progress was very important. She was not primarily an originator of large ideas, or an expositor of doctrine. Her power of expression was defective, and she had not always valid reasons for the faith that was in her. But she had unbounded good sense, and enthusiasm that burned without flickering, and the gift of conciliation. She never forgot that it is almost as important for the social innovator to be agreeable as to be right. When Newnham College was organized in 1871, Miss Clough became principal, and held the office until her death. Miss Athena Clough, the author of the memoir, was her aunt's secretary for several years at Newnham. She had the assistance, in noting and estimating the traits of the elder woman, of the candid criticism of successive generations of undergraduates. The last chapters of the book are written with dexterity and lightness of touch; sympathy is blent with candor, and the result is a convincing presentation. The frontispiece of the volume is a reproduction of Mrs. F. W. H. Myers's excellent photograph of Miss Clough. By an odd blunder on the title-page the title of "Late Principal of Newnham College" is given to the author instead of to the subject of the memoir.

A Bibliography of British Municipal History, By Charles Gross, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. V.] Longmans. 1897.

It is a question worth considering how it comes about that the best books concerning one country are so often written by the men of another. Germany owes the biographies of three of its greatest men—of Frederick the Great, of Goethe, and of Stein—to English pens: from a Frenchman and an Englishman have come the two most noteworthy expositions of the American political system. On the other hand, England has to turn to German scholars for critical editions of her early laws, and to French observers for the most reliable accounts of her present industrial life. Frequently the explanation is to be found in the fact that phenomena which natives take for granted have for outsiders the keen interest of examples to be followed or warnings to be observed. But sometimes apparently no far-reaching explanation is discoverable; it has merely chanced that an able foreigner has turned his attention in a particular direction.

The work of Prof. Gross of Harvard is a striking instance of the sort of thing we have in mind. In his book on the 'Gild Merchant,' published in 1890, Prof. Gross revealed one whole phase in the history of the mediæval town life of England which had hitherto hardly been perceived; and, what was more, took up the task of investigating English municipal history to all intents and purposes at the point where it had been dropped by Madox more than a century and a half before. Other scholars have since thrown themselves with ardor into the field, notably the veteran Prof. Hegel and the brilliant Prof. Maitland; but it must not be forgotten that Dr. Gross was here the pioneer. And now, seven years after, the 'Bibliography of British Municipal History'—for which, it is no secret, he has long been waiting for a generous publisher—is given to the world by the Torrey Fund among the 'Harvard Historical Studies.' As one turns over its 461 pages, with its careful classification, its more than 3,000 entries, its model index, the imagination aches at the thought of the dreary and weary labor it has involved. But now here it is, with absolutely nothing to compare with it—or even to mention in connection with it—among previously existing bibliographies on the subject.

It is as complete a survey as anybody, save a Methuselah and a Crœsus rolled into one, can ever hope to produce. Everything has been done to make smooth the path of the future investigator. For instance, not content to enter 'Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts,' Prof. Gross gives a page of references (p. 12) to the precise place in one or other of its sixty volumes devoted to each of seventy-four towns arranged alphabetically. Rymer's 'Foedera' (p. 23), the 'Rotuli Chartarum' (p. 25), the 'Rotuli Parliamentorum' (p. 26), a dozen volumes of seventeenth-century law reports, and, indeed, all the other considerable repositories of information, are laboriously indexed in like manner. And when we reach Part II., given up to modern histories of particular towns, we find just the one word here and there as to the relative value of this and that, that will set the investigator on the right road at the very outset. It is a book that every inquirer into British municipal history for the next half-century will have continually at his elbow as a matter of course.

And yet, in preparing this work, Prof. Gross has had apparently no thought whatever of the municipal problems of the day. He does not take the opportunity to hold up English municipalities as models for America; and Lord Salisbury would consult his pages in vain for hints how to treat the London County Council. As far as is humanly possible, his interest has been purely "scientific." But even here we are able to trace certain historical antecedents. One may go so far as to say that, but for the Hanoverian Succession, a Harvard professor would never have produced this book. For, but for the Hanoverian Succession, Göttingen would not have become the special centre in Germany for the study of English history, and Dr. Gross would never have received from his master, Reinhold Pauli, the stimulus which has led to such solid performances.

Le Creature Sovrane. Da Adolfo Padovan. Milan. 1898. Pp. 300.

It is a fine thing to be young, to have high hopes and no doubts as to the future, to be sustained by a profound confidence in one's self, unshaken as yet by bitter and wholesome experience. And when the youth comes boldly forth with his little book, the captious graybeard smiles indulgently, seduced by so much freshness, touched by an evocation of "the days that are no more." And yet the book may be a very bad one; indeed, it often is; and whether good, bad, or indifferent, the critic is bound to express his honest opinion, whatever the cost to his feelings. Such at least is his excuse for plain speaking. It is therefore a pleasure when, as in the present case, he can truthfully say that the book is not so bad as it might be. It can be opened at random and read with a certain mild interest, since we are all curious about the lives of great men; and a collection of anecdotes and facts about them collected by a writer of culture, and recounted in smoothly flowing periods, may always occupy one of those half-hours that we give on occasion to the best authors. Sig. Padovan thinks, indeed, that he has given us more than mere stories; he has bound these together by a sort of natural history of the man of genius, or what he means to be such. Perhaps he will recognize the inadequacy of his performance when he is older.

He believes in heroes, but his worship is as water—yea, as milk and water unto wine—when compared with the fervor of Carlyle; and he sets out to supplement Lombroso, though he ends having demonstrated nothing, while his faith does not illuminate the horizon with its fires, but burns the modest dip before an image palpably graven, never of flesh and blood. He also believes that the genius has much more of sorrow than of joy in his life, but that his rare pleasures are, in proportion to his intelligence, greater than those of ordinary mortals. This may all be true, though the simple statement of it does not necessarily carry with it conviction. It may also be objected to the next article of his faith that pride—by which he sometimes means mere vanity, and sometimes a proper sense of the value of his work, quite consistent with personal modesty—is by no means confined to men of genius, nor is short life. The majority of mankind, even of the stupid, die young. The chapter on "Shipwrecks" is a puzzling one. *E. g.*, Perin del Vaga is declared a shipwreck because posterity, not accepting his estimate of himself, places him below Raphael. They, too, made shipwreck who, while preparing the way for the great discoveries of science, did not achieve these themselves. Such failures, however, our author allows, are useful and, indeed, necessary. His last chapter is devoted to genius in the future; in it, with a courage which is of his years, but is scarcely of discretion, he gives himself freely to prophecy. It will gratify many to be told that the triumphs of the future are reserved for science rather than for art; but, outside of his own country, he will hardly find universal credence for his assertion that the land of these great men will be Italy. Still,

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one cannot be sure that events will not justify his prediction.

The flowing style has a majesty—we are far from calling it a strut, even to ourselves—better adapted to the vaticinations of the seer than to the platitudes it too frequently embodies. The following passage from the chapter on "Death" is neither of the worst nor of the best:

"Io ti guido ora, lettore, nel regno tenebroso dove la Morte compie le sue stragi; tu udrai nuove voci, vedrai cose non vedute mai, e potrai cogliere in quel magico giardino qualche magnifico fiore solitario"—

which we translate, at the risk of spoiling what sense it has, as well as its melody:

"I now lead thee, reader, to the dusky realm where Death slays his thousands; thou shalt hear unknown voices, thou shalt see things never yet seen, and canst pluck flowers in that magic garden splendid in their loneliness."

Happily the author does not fulfil his promise, but simply goes on in his grand manner recounting his anecdotes and retailing his commonplaces, at once solemn and amusing. Sig. Padovan always takes himself seriously, and among his convictions he records one (p. 234) that his book will not fall into oblivion. We trust he may never lose this comforting belief, and that he will always keep the nameless something which makes us feel kindly toward him, and hope that next time he may do something more worthy of himself.

Old Virginia and her Neighbors. By John Fiske. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1897.

These volumes, though in one sense parts of a series, coming in between the author's 'Discovery of America' and his 'Beginnings of New England,' yet deal with a part of history that can be studied by itself as a sequence of causes and effects. After the destruction of Spain's overwhelming naval power by the almost miraculous catastrophe of 1588, there rushed into English minds the possibility of snatching the sovereignty of the seas, and the determination to do it. If Spain had planted and fortified herself along the coast of America from St. Augustine southward, might not Englishmen do the same further north? If the mines of Mexico and Peru had furnished the sinews of war to Charles and Philip, might not Englishmen hope to find similar sources of supply? The very names of the promoters of the first Virginia settlement show their designs and hopes, as the sagacious and alarmed Philip well understood.

But bitter experience taught the colonists their mistake, and Virginia became a plantation instead of a base of naval operations and a mining camp. From Virginia sprang Maryland, inheriting the peaceful plantation policy; and the Carolinas, and, later, Georgia, inheriting the military traditions of frontier outposts against the Spaniard; and thus these provinces, as illustrating special and consecutive phases of one movement, may be studied together. So the author closes the narrative, not with the American Revolution, but at the time when France, which (and not Spain) was now the arch-enemy, extending her cordon of posts west of the Alleghanies from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, and threatening all the English colonists alike, aroused them to the necessity of combined action against the common danger, and awakened the feeling of essential unity, or what Prof. Fiske calls "the continental idea."

To some readers the broad philosophical view which traces effects to causes and shows the successive stages in the advance of human progress, is the chief attraction of history; others delight in stirring incidents, vivacious narrative, and graphic details. Neither class will be disappointed in these interesting volumes. Prof. Fiske stoutly stands up for our boyhood's hero, Capt. John Smith, his three Turks' heads, his Lady Tragabigzanda, and his rescue by Pocahontas. The present reviewer, though strongly of opinion that (to put it delicately) a rigid herald might have insisted on Smith's adding a point sanguine to the blazon granted by Prince Sigismund, is yet glad to find his veracity so courageously championed by Prof. Fiske, partly because one hates to lose any romantic trait in so picturesque a figure, but chiefly because his map of the Chesapeake Bay and its shores is in itself a wonder that makes any other achievement credible.

The story of Virginia, through all its disasters down to the revocation of the charter and its reorganization as a royal colony, is rapidly but clearly told. Particularly suggestive is the account of the first American Colonial Legislature, which seems partly to have resembled a parish vestry and partly a Scottish kirk-session. They looked sharply after the minor morals, taxed husbands whose wives went too finely dressed, and enacted that whatever man or woman should be found guilty of "using words tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time"—in modern phrase, flirtation—should receive corporal correction at the whipping-post. They should have defined more clearly what words did, and what did not, tend to a contract of marriage; or a gallant, for a compliment that would have won him smiles at Whitehall, might find himself summarily triced up for correction.

The interesting, though somewhat uneventful, history of Maryland is told with sufficient fulness, and the peculiar character of its palatinate government explained by an analysis of that of the bishopric of Durham, which was its model. The characters of George and Cecilius Calvert are treated with discriminating appreciation. On one point here we should have been glad of a reference to the writer's authority. He says (vol. i., p. 309), in reference to the "Act concerning Religion" of 1649: "This famous statute, commonly known as the Toleration Act, was drawn up by Cecilius himself, and passed the Assembly exactly as it came from him, without amendment." That it embodied his consistent policy, and, in the main, reflected his views, cannot be doubted; but that he himself drew it up in those very words would be extremely questionable unless supported by unimpeachable authority. Knowing Prof. Fiske's scrupulous accuracy, the present reviewer cannot doubt his possession of such authority, and only regrets that he has withheld it from his readers.

Having followed down the story of Maryland to the reëstablishment of the Proprietary Government in 1658, the author takes us back to Virginia, now the Virginia of the Cavaliers. A chapter is given to Bacon's rebellion, which is justly characterized as "the first serious and ominous tragedy in the history of the United States, a story preserved for us in many of its details with striking vividness, yet concerning the innermost significance of which we would fain know more than we do. It may fairly be pronounced the most interesting episode in our early history." Its deep significance lies in its being the first violent upheaving of underground forces which were to become volcanic in the next century. In Maryland it produced so powerful an impression as to add a word to the language: for a long time persons suspected of stirring up disaffection against the ruling powers were stigmatized as "Baconists." With Prof. Fiske's usual fairness, Bacon is shown us neither as a vaporing demagogue nor as a second Hampden, but as one who injured a good cause by rashness and hot temper. Nor was Berkeley a mere truculent tyrant and butcher. It was the fate of these two courageous men that neither could understand the other nor his motives.

Referring to the charge of felony brought against Frederick, Sixth Lord Baltimore, Prof. Fiske says that he was acquitted "on a mere technicality." The official report of the trial shows that there was no technicality in the matter. He was acquitted because the jury did not believe the principal witness, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the verdict was just. Frederick was certainly not a moral man, but that is no reason why he should be painted blacker than he was.

One of the most entertaining chapters in these volumes is that devoted to the buccaneers and pirates. They and the colonies both sprang from the same root—the hostility to Spain. Drake and Raleigh begat Dampier and Rogers, and these begat Morgan and Kidd. These latter found in the peculiar conformation of the Carolina coast, with its guarding reefs and its intricate land-locked harbors, an excellent refuge; and their ill-gotten booty, cheaply sold or lavishly squandered, prevented the Carolinians from inquiring too curiously how or where it was acquired. "For at least thirty years after the founding of Carolina, nearly all the currency in the colony consisted of Spanish gold and silver brought in by freebooters." But when the pirates were so unwise as to turn against their friendly hosts, and the swaggering Blackbeard held Charleston itself to ransom, a new light as to the iniquity of piracy dawned upon the Carolinians. Ere many weeks had elapsed, Kidd was sent to finish his career at Execution Dock, and Blackbeard's shaggy head was hanging from the bowsprit of a Virginia cruiser.

Mr. Fiske, knowing that he studies the past to little purpose who does not draw from it some lessons for the present, occasionally points a very opportune moral. Thus, after praising that excellent institution and school of freemen, the town meeting, he adds:

"Under this form of government people are not so liable to bewildering delusions as under other forms. I refer especially to the delusion that 'the Government' is a sort of mysterious power, possessed of a magic inexhaustible fund of wealth, and able to do all manner of things for the benefit of 'the People.' Some such notion as this, more often implied than expressed, is very common, and it is inexpressibly dear to demagogues. It is the prolific root from which springs that luxuriant crop of humbug upon which political tricksters thrive as pigs fatten upon corn. In point of fact, no such government, armed with a magic fund of its own, has ever existed upon earth. No gov-

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ernment has ever yet used any money for public purposes which it did not first take from its own people—unless when it may have plundered it from some other people in victorious warfare."

And again, apropos of the Navigation Act:

"Crude mediæval methods of robbery began to give place to the ingenious modern methods in which men's pockets are picked under the specious guise of public policy. Your mediæval baron would allow no ship or boat to pass his Rhenish castle without paying what he saw fit to extort for the privilege, and at the end of his evil career he was apt to compound with conscience and buy a ticket to heaven by building a chapel to the Virgin. Your modern manufacturer obtains legislative aid in fleecing his fellow-countrymen, while he seeks popularity by bestowing upon the public a part of his ill-gotten gains in the shape of a new college or a town library."

There are some to whom these will seem hard sayings.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Addleshaw, Percy. The Cathedral Church of Exeter. London: Bell; New York: Macmillan. 60c.
André, R. Colonel Bogey's Sketch-Book. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Anstey, F. The Tinted Venus: A Farcical Romance. Harpers.
Bates, Prof. Katharine L. American Literature. Macmillan. $1.50.
Berger, A. C. Luther. [Geisterhelden.] Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co.; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
Channing, F. A. The Truth about Agricultural Depression. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.
Cheyne, Prof. T. K. The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. [Polychrome Bible.] Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Lutoslawski, Wincenty. The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic. Longmans. $6.00.
Moireau, M. A. La Guerre de l'Indépendance en Amérique. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Nicholson, Prof. J. S. Principles of Political Economy. Vol. II., Book III. Macmillan. $2.25.
Peloubet, Rev. F. N. Suggestive Illustrations on the Gospel of Matthew. E. R. Herrick & Co. $1.25.
Sanders, E. K. For Prince and People: A Tale of Old Genoa. Macmillan. $1.75.
Smith, W. G. Life and Letters of Thomas Kilby Smith, Brevet Major-General U. S. Volunteers. 1820-1887. Putnams. $2.50.
Sturges, Beatrice. Beautiful Women of the Poets. E. R. Herrick & Co. $1.25.
"The Living Age." Oct.-Dec., 1897. Boston: Living Age Co.
"The New World." Vol. V. 1897. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Warner, Francis. The Study of Children and Their School Training. Macmillan. $1.
Waterloo, Stanley. A Man and a Woman. New ed. Chicago: Way & Williams. $1.25.
Wellhausen, Prof. J. The Book of Psalms [Polychrome Bible.] Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Willmott, Prof. A. B. The Mineral Wealth of Canada. Toronto: William Briggs.

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